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Nature and the Natural in Kalya:nasundarar

XAVIER S. THANI NAYAGAM

The word " Nature " like the word " Culture " is one of the most used and abused words in Literature. A certain American writer has counted as many as sixty different meanings attributed to the word " Nature ", and Leslie Stephen complained that " Nature is a word contrived in order to introduce as many equivocations as possible into all the theories, political, legal, artistic, or literary, into which it enters."[1] The multiple use of the Tamil word for nature, " *iyarkai* " (இயற்கை) by twentieth century Tamil writers, is not due to any calculated contrivance to produce equivocations, but is the result of attempts to utilise an old term for new meanings, now necessitated by the widening of the thought content and by the use of the prose medium for the exposition of themes which until the nineteenth century had been almost exclusively treated in verse or in cryptic and condensed commentaries.

The speeches and movements initiated by Maha:tma Ga:ndhi tended to look upon the growth of factories, and the development of towns and cities, and the new ways of life in food, drink, clothing and outlook, as artificial, and therefore opposed to the natural way of life inherited by India from India's Nature. Tiruva:rur Viruta:salam Kalya:nasundara Mudaliya:r (1883 - 1954) was a great protagonist of Ga:ndhi-sm in the Tamil country. He commenced life as the Tamil pundit in the Wesleyan High School, and came into qualified contact with Western and Christian thought. He was, like many Indian thinkers, what we might call for want of a better term, a syncretist or eclectic in religious and phi-

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1. See Willey Basil, *The Eighteenth—Century Background* p. 11. Peregrine Books, London, 1962. First published in 1940.

losophical thought, and inherited the traditional reverence for all religious thought, an attitude of mind, of which the best known modern advocates were Ramakrishna (1836-1886) and Swami Viveka:nanda (1863 - 1903) in Northern India, and Ramalingam Swami (1823 - 1874) in Tamil Nad. The term syncretist or eclectic, however, has not the connotation of open-mindedness and humble enquiry for religious and philosophical experience which is characteristic of many Indian thinkers.

Kalya:nasundarar was influenced both by the political movement led by Annie Besant, as well as by the syncretist tendencies of Indian theosophy, and maintained theosophistic attitudes to the end of his life. He was as much attracted by the doctrine of love preached by Christ and its soteriological aspects, as by the cosmic dance of Natara:ja and the sustenance of the Universe through love. A great number of passages in his prose, and the verses he wrote off and on to condense his ideas or to pray for grace of Christ, of Siva, of Visnu, of Murugan, of the Buddha, speak for the attraction which he had for spirituality, wherever it might be found. A person of lofty altruistic ideals, ever striving to practice what he preached, he was for the first half of this century the most accepted and, probably, the least controversial figure in the Tamil country. Having lost his wife in 1918, six years after marriage, true to ideals of married love which he held, he refused to marry a second time, but contributed to leadership in the Labour movement and in the struggle for independence, and generally dedicated his life to letters, and the moral and spiritual rejuvenation and rehabilitation of his people. Though living in the world and abhoring and even ridiculing every theory which spoke of renunciation of the world by withdrawing oneself from it, Kalya:nasundara Mudaliya:r was in reality, wrapped in white as he was, a true ascetic in his altruism, in his spirit of service, in his detachment from riches and the highly principled discipline which he imposed upon himself. Nevertheless his asceticism was combined with a strong strain of Tamil optimism and life affirmation, and the humanism and

lofty ethical conduct prescribed by the *Tirukkural* continues to dominate his writing even after eighteen centuries. In the cycle of Rebirth, all other births except human birth, are predetermined to a life in which there is no liberty of choice. Human birth is to be welcomed because it is the only one which enjoys freedom and liberty, and therefore offers the opportunity for voluntary service. In lyrical lines he writes in his sixties concerning his desire for altruistic service.

> தொண்டினுஞ் சிறந்த ஒன்று இருக்கிறதா? எனக்கு ஒன்றுந் தோன்றவில்லை. தொண்டே எனது வாழ்க்கை. எனது செல்வம். எனது ஆருயிர். எனது சமயம். எல்லாம். எல்லாம். விளைவு என்ன ஆயினும் ஆக. அதுபற்றிய கவலை எனக்கில்லை. என் கடன் பணி செய்து கிடப்பதே.

> எனக்குப் பிறப்பு வேண்டும். பிறப்புப் பயன்கருதாத் தொண்டுக்குப் பயன்படுதல் வேண்டும். சாதி மதம் மொழி நிறம் நாடு முதலியவற்றைக் கடந்து நிற்கும் பொதுமை அறத்துக்குரிய சன்மார்க்கத் தொண்டு செய்தல் வேண்டும். இதுவே எனது வேண்டுதல்.2

The remarkable feature about Thiruva:rur Viruta:salam Kalya:nasundara Mudaliya:r is the capacity he maintained until the end of his life to absorb new ideas, to benefit by new experiences and reduce them to a unity and a meaningful synthesis. Evolutionary change, he held, is brought about by Nature revealing her hidden forces to investigating man at the opportune moment according to human need. Nature's revelation of the hidden forces, though timed to suit human need exacts the exercise of the human mind on the problems of the times. If India has not progressed in Science it is because Indians have not been as enterprising in discovering the forces of Nature as the Americans have been. A passage written in the last years of life in which he reveals how new experiences have helped in the development and readjustment of his own thoughts is of interest in the study of his personality, and is evidence of the unity and harmony he succeeded in attaining in all his experience.

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2. The most authenticated life is his own autobiography—
திரு. வி. க. வாழ்க்கைக் குறிப்புக்கள், சாது அச்சுக்கூடம், சென்னை, *1944.* பக்கம் *20.*

There is Evolution in the Universe as well as Evolution in the Individual.[3]

"I was born, grew up and learned from books. That was one kind of experience.

I had also the opportunity to learn Nature's arts. That was another kind of experience.

My life became associated with several movements. I worked for the countrys' independence; I was deeply involved in the labour movement. I thereby came to understand that freedom in different countries is the total freedom of mankind and of the world as a whole. This conviction added to my experience.

To some, human freedom is obtained through Marxism; to others through Gandhism. I examined these two isms as far as possible. By this investigation, I gained another kind of experience.

In youth, I accepted the religious beliefs of my parents. Later arose in me the desire to study the books of other faiths. I was able in some measure to fulfil that desire, and thereby grasped the underlying oneness of all religions. This illuminating experience was yet of another kind.

There were other experiences as well, but they did not remain in me as isolated and single experiences. They formed a unity within me, and what was the result? Peace. I realised that the fruit of life is peace."[4]

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3. திரு. வி. க. தமிழ்ச் சோலை அல்லது கட்டுரைத் திரட்டு (இரண்டாம் பகுதி) சாது அச்சுக்கூடம், சென்னை - 4, 1959. பக்கம் 74.

4. யான் பிறந்தேன்; வளர்ந்தேன்; ஏட்டுக் கலைகளைப் பயின்றேன்; ஒருவித அநுபவம் பெற்றேன்.

இயற்கைக் கலைகளைப் பயிலும் வாய்ப்பும் எனக்குக் கிடைத்தது. அதனால் யான் வேறு ஒருவித அனுபவம் அடைந்தேன்.

எனது வாழ்க்கை பலவித இயக்கங்களின் தொடர்புகொண்டது. நாட்டு விடுதலைக்குப் பாடுபட்டேன்; தொழிலாளர் இயக்கத்தில் தோய்ந்தேன். உலக விடுதலையே நாடுகளின் விடுதலை என்ற உணர்வு என்னகத்தில் அரும்பியது. இஃது இன்னொருவித அனுபவத்தைக் கூட்டிற்று.

உலக விடுதலையை அறிவுறுத்துவது மார்க்ஸியம் என்பர் சிலர்; காந்தியம் என்பர் சிலர். யான் இரண்டையும் நடுநிலை நின்று ஒல்லும் வகை ஆய்ந்தேன். இவ்வாய்வால் மற்றும் ஒருவித அநுபவம் என்னிடம் உற்றது.

இளமையில் யான் என் தாய் தந்தையர் ஏற்ற சமயத்தை ஏற்று ஒழுகினேன். பின்னே பல சமய நூல்களைப் பயிலவேண்டும் என்ற வேட்கை எழுந்தது. அவ்வேட்கை ஒருவாறு நிறைவேறியது. சமயங்களின் ஒருமைப்பாடு எனக்கு விளங்கிற்று. இவ்விளக்கத்தால் பிறிதொரு வித அநுபவம் என்பால் படிந்தது.

இவ்வநுபவங்களுடன் வேறு பலவித அநுபவங்களும் என்னில் திரண்டன. எல்லா அநுபவங்களும் என்னுள் தனித்தனியே நிற்கவில்லை. அவை யாவும் என்னுள் ஒன்றின. ஒன்றிய அநுபவத்தால் என்ன விளைந்தது? அமைதி விளைந்தது. "வாழ்க்கைப் பேறு அமைதி" என்னும் உண்மை எனது அடைவாயிற்று.

திரு. வி. க. பரம்பொருள் அல்லது வாழ்க்கைவழி, சாது அச்சுக்கூடம், சென்னை, 1959. பக்கம் 16–17.

As a journalist and editor, and as a writer and platform orator, Kalya:nasundara Mudaliya:r held a pre-eminent position in the Tamil country. His Tamil style and thought have influenced Tamil writing in the last three decades, especially of those who do not have direct access to English Literature or the literature of the other Indian languages. Literary associations by the name of Kalya:nasundara Mudaliya:r established even in Ceylon and Malaya speak for his influence among the Tamil reading youth. The more serious minded writers of the Tamil country seem to continue his line of thought, but in none of them, is so much discussion regarding Nature, and regarding what is natural and what is artificial. Some new habits in food, drink and clothing, and aspects of urbanisation and industrialisation which seemed undesirable innovations and intrusions to Kalya:nasundara Mudaliya:r, have come to be accepted as inevitable consequences of social change. In his own period Kalya:nasundara Mudaliya:r seems to stand like a revolutionary in certain aspects and a reactionary in others. The examination of his concept of Nature and nurture, and of what is natural and unnatural, seems to take us through all the segments of his thought, religious, literary, cultural, educational, social and political.

The Tamil word *iyarkai* (இயற்கை) has had from the earliest times a great number of meanings. It denotes the established order of the universe, as well as what proceeds from the essence as well as the disposition of man or matter. It is opposed to *seyarkai* (செயற்கை) or what is fabricated, and artificial. Through the centuries the word has acquired new semantic adumbrations, and the actual period when it comes to denote the physical universe, has not been traced. In no other Tamil writer of the twentieth century does the word obtain all those shades of meaning and implications similar to those which a reader finds in Wordsworth or Rousseau. This is partly because some of the political and social changes which Kalya:nasundara Mudaliya:r, advocated or condemned in his day were similar to the situations about which Wordsworth

and Rousseau had occasion to write; and produced in the writers more or less similar reactions.

God and Nature

The fundamental belief of Nature from which emanate as deductions all his outlook and convictions, is that Nature's relationship to God is like the relationship of the human body to the human soul. Kalya:nasundara Mudaliya:r often states the different views and theories of the monistic and dualistic schools, but hardly draws any inferences against the one or the other, and is not very much enamoured of philosophical speculation, howsoever valuable, but is more involved in the practical applications of philosophy, and in the drawing of practical deductions of spirituality, of morality, of ethics and of aesthetics, from his few and fundamental beliefs.

> "I remember the time when I immersed myself in these theories and disputations, and the weariness which resulted from them. The memory of that weariness leads me no more to philosophical disputes. I do not mean to say that there is no need for such philosophical and logical controversies; they are necessary to the understanding of speculative truths. But philosophical controversy itself is inadequate; one ought to take count of practical experience. To those who take count of experience, the three states are apparent (the monistic, the dualistic, and the mono-dualistic). At one stage God and Nature would seem different entities; in another stage they might seem inter-mingled; and at another stage as one What is sarkunam or tadastam but the concept of God in Nature as in a body?" 5.

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5. "பரம்பொருள் மாயாகாரியமாகிய அண்டபிண்டங்களென்னும் இயற்கை உலகங்களிலெல்லாம் கலந்து நிற்கும் நிலையே சகுணம்—தடஸ்தம்—என்பது. இந்நிலை பரம்பொருள் இயற்கையைத் தன் உடலாகவும தன்னை உயிராகவும்கொண்டது என்று விளக்கம் செய்யலாம்...

அநுபவத்துறையில் இறங்கி உழைப்போர்க்கு மூன்று நிலைகளின் இன்றியமையாமை விளங்கும். அவர்க்கு ஒரு நிலையில் பரமும் இயறகையும் வேருகத் தோன்றும். இன்னொரு நிலையில் கலப்பாகத் தோன்றும். வேறு ஒரு நிலையில் ஒன்ருகவுந தோன்றும். இம்மூன்றும் அறிஞரால்—பேரறிஞரால்—காணப்பெற்றவை. அவை வாழ்க; அவர் வாழ்க.

தியானத்துக்குப் பரத்தின் கலந்த நிலையென்னும் சகுணம் அல்லது தடஸ்தம் கொழுகொம்பாய்த் துணைபுரியும். சகுணம் அல்லது தடஸ்தம் எது? பரம் இயற்கையை உடலாகக்கொண்ட நிலை. இது கோயில்—பெருங்கோயில், கோயில் எதற்கு? வழிபாட்டுக்கன்ரே? வழிபாடு பெருக; தியானம் ஓங்க.

திரு. வி. க. பரம்பொருள் அல்லது வாழ்க்கைவழி, சாது அச்சுக்கூடம், சென்னை, 1959. பக்கம் 39-40.

> "Ma:ya: is the ancient word for Nature; the moderns understand the word Iyarkai while the term Ma:ya: is bewildering to them."[6]

From this concept which partakes of the nature of all three of the prominent theistic systems of Indian philosophy, (the Advaita, the Dvaita, and the Visistadvaita), Kalya:nasundara Mudaliya:r draws various applications of spirituality and piety. Nature as united to God is seen in the Sivaka:mi concept; the cosmos as one and undivided unity is seen in Natara:ja as motion. What is the far-famed temple of Citamparam? It is not a mere building in the South Arcot district of Southern India. It is the artistic representation of the Universe uniting all Creation with its Creator, and portraying the relationships of identity and "separatedness" between God and Nature.[7]

It is through Nature as Creation that the attributes of the Creator are realised in a concrete manner. Nature in its various manifestations like sun and rain are the channels through which the benevolence and grace of God reaches all creatures. Agnosticism and Atheism are not effective or creative philosophies for Kalya:nasundara Mudaliya:r who, however, is convinced that "Marxism is a natural development which will reach its fullest possibilities if it became informed by theism, as it will in due time."

> "The new world discovered by Marx is not a whole world. The Perfect Being "Sat" should be related to it. Then Marxism will be the body and the Perfect Being the life."[8]

> "It is through the visible manifestations of Nature that one arrives at the existence of the Infinite Being. As you investigate Nature you arrive at the existence of, Sat or Perfect Being. It may be stated briefly that Nature is the instrument to measure a Being which has neither habitation nor a name. Since it is through Nature that Sat operates its grace-giving functions, the path to Sat is

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6. திரு. வி. க. பரம்பொருள் அல்லது வாழ்க்கைவழி, சாது அச்சுக்கூடம், சென்னை, 1959. பக்கம் 60-63.

7. திரு. வி. க. பரம்பொருள் அல்லது வாழ்க்கைவழி, சாது அச்சுக்கூடம், சென்னை, 1959. பக்கம் 60-63.

8. திரு. வி. க. வாழ்க்கைக் குறிப்புகள், சாது அச்சுக்கூடம், சென்னை, 1944. பக்கம் 645.

doubtless through Nature. How may I term the relationship between Sat and Nature? Is it possible to describe it in words? I consider God or Sat, the Perfect Being as my father, and Nature as my mother." 9

There is no doubt that the writer in his concepts of Nature has behind him Indian thought from the period of the Upanisads. We find however these ancient beliefs, once confined exclusively to religious poetry, now in the twentieth century becoming part also of a secular literary heritage as the reader of Bharati finds in ample measure. But while Bharati is predominantly Vedantic in his outlook regarding Nature and the emphasis he gives to his identity with all Creation, Kalya:nasundara Mudaliya:r appears to be more Visita:dvaita and Saiva Siddha:ntic in his philosophy of Nature, emphasising Nature as the visible corporeal manifestation of the invisible Spirit.

Nature and Education

From a philosophic and religious concept of Nature as the Body of God, and as manifestation and channel of divine bounty, Kalya:nasundara Mudaliya:r's transition to aesthetic involvement in Nature is easy and immediate. He is the most articulate writer in the twentieth century of the theistic and aesthetic concepts of Nature which bring peace and inner calm, indispensable conditions necessary in the development of the balanced personality. Kalya:nasundarar is the Tamil moralist and reformer *par excellence* of the first half of the twentieth century, in his careers as essayist, newspaper editor, platform orator, labour leader and retired thinker and philosopher. Having been a teacher in his earlier years, he continued all his life the conscious role of teacher in the Tamil country, and the endeavour to improve the lives of his listeners and readers is almost the only motif of all his writing. No other writer has so consciously and so deliberately stated the need for the people of the Tamil country to develop their aesthetic and emotional life through

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9. திரு. வி. க. பரம்பொருள், பக்கம் 80.

involvement in music, dance, painting, sculpture, in poetry and in Nature as has Kalya:nasundarar.

By meditation on the wonders of Nature and by the appreciation of natural beauty, one acquires a peace of mind, and the peace that builds personality. If peace builds all personality, especially does it build the personality of woman.[10] It is because of an intimate life with Nature that the Ancient Tamils produced great masterpieces of poetry and other Fine Arts and excelled in the moral virtues, and lived very long lives. Nature in the Tamil country is equable and affable, and the mountains and sea divides of the South seem to be frontiers which conserve a wonderful Nature, the geographical matrix of a very remarkable people and a resourceful culture. The pages in which Kalya:nasundara Mudaliya:r describes the natural beauties of the Tamil country, of Ceylon and of the neighbourhood of towns in which he addresses conferences, or of the suburban Madras of his boyhood, then dense with orchards and gardens, are prose poems in which the writer evidently enjoys the description and the choice of words. In his deliberate descriptions of Nature, he relishes the names of trees and plants, and describes them with a verbal luxuriance and richness, equal only to the rampant and dense vegetation of a tropical grove.[11] At times the richness of the description and the

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10. பெண்ணின் பெருமை, உள்ளொளி, முருகன் அல்லது அழகு.

"இயற்கையாகப் பெண்மக்களுக்கு அமைதிக் குணம் அமைந்திருக்கிறது. அமைதி, பெண்ணின் வாழ்விற்கு உரியது. அதைப் புலால் உணவு சிதைக்கும். இரஜோ குணத்தை எழுப்பி, மக்களைக் கெடுக்கும் புலாலை எக்காரணம்பற்றியும் பெண்மக்கள் உண்ணுதல் கூடாது."

திரு. வி. க. பெண்ணின் பெருமை, சாது அச்சுக்கூடம், சென்னை, *1955.* பக்கம் *103.*

11. "வானத்தின் கருமையும், நாணுபக்கமும் பசுமையுமன்றி வேறென்ன ஆண்டுள்ளன? வழிநெடுகப் பசுமை உமிழும் மலைகளின் செறிவும், சூழலும், நிரையும், அணியும் உள்ளத்தைக் கவர்கின்றன. முகிற் குழாங்கள் கொண்டல் கொண்டலாக அசைந்தும் ஆடியும் ஓடியும் மலை முகடுகளிற் சூழ்ந்து தவழ்ந்து பாகைபோல் பொலியும் காட்சியும் அம்மலைகளின் உடல புலனுகாவாறு பசும்பட்டுப் போர்த்தாலெனப் பொழில்கள் துதைந்துள்ள அழகும் புலன்களை ஒன்றச் செய்கின்றன. மலையுச்சியினின்றும் தரைவரை நிரை நிரையாகச் சரிந்தும் செறிந்தும் நிற்கும் தெங்கின் பெருக்கும், அவ்வாறே தெங்கைவிட்டுப் பிரியாது அணித்தே புடைசூழ்ந்து நிற்கும் கமுகின் உயர்வும், அவைகளுடன் நீக்கமின்றி வாழ்க்கைத் துணையெனச் சுற்றிச் சுற்றிப் பின்னிக்கிடக்கும் கான் பரந்த செடிகொடிகளின் ஈட்டமும், வானுலகேறப் பச்சைப் படாம் விரித்த படிகளெனத் திகழ்கின்றனவோ என்றும் ஐயுறலாம். புகைவண்டி,

conscious striving after synonyms results in overdone passages, which obfuscate the author's usual clarity and simplicity.

In almost all his books there are pages of exhortations to indulge in the plastic Arts, in Music, and in Poetry, all of which derive their aesthetic and humanistic qualities by originating from Nature, and by being close to Nature. His love of sculpture and painting originated with a visit to Mahabalipuram in the company of some English teachers of the Wesley School, Madras. He was impressed by the manner in which one of them lost herself in the contemplation of some of the sculptures. Since then he made positive attempts to appreciate painting and sculpture, while an appreciation of music he appears to have inherited from his paternal side.[12] Among a people who have had little or no

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அப்பசுமை நிலத்தில் பறந்தோடுவதை நோக்குழி, அது, பச்சை மரகத மலையைக் கிழித்தோடும் அமைப்பைத் தோன்றிற்று. பசுமைக் காட்சியில் லாத இடமும் உண்டோ? கண்ணுக்கும் மனத்துக்கும் இனிமையூட்டும் பசுமையின் பெற்றியை என்னென்றுரைப்பேன்.''

திரு. வி. க. தமிழ்ச் சோலை, சாது அச்சுக்கூடம். சென்னை, 1954. பக்கம் 63.

''பழைய இராயப்பேட்டை ஒரு சிற்றூர்; இயற்கைப் பசுங்கடல்; விருந்தின் உறையுள். அதனுள் மலையில்லை; அருவியில்லை; காடில்லை; கடலில்லை. ஆனால், மலையையும் அருவியையும் காட்டையும் கடலையும் நினைவூட்டும் இயற்கைக் கூறுகள் இருந்தன. பட்டத்தினின்றும் வீறி எழுந்து வெற்றிலைக் கொடிகளாம் மரகத ஆரங்களைப் புனைந்து, தலைகளைச் சாய்த்து, ஒன்றுடன் ஒன்று முட்டியும், அசையாது வீழாதவாறு பிணைப்புண்டு தொடர்ந்த முகடுகளைக் கொண்ட வாழை நிரைகளின் கூட்டங்கள் தொடர் குன்றுகளைக் கருத்திலிருத்தும். கிடங்குகளில் பாயும் நீரோட்டம் பல முகடுகளினின்றும் இழிதரும் அருவிகள்போன்றிருக்கும். அல்லன் தோட்டம் என்ற சிறுவனம் காட்டைக் கடுக்கும். அவ்வனம் இராயப்பேட்டைக்குப் பெருந்துணையாகப் பயன்பட்டது. அதில் அத்தி, விளா, மா, நெல்லி, நாவல், கிச்சிலி, இலந்தை, இலுப்பை, புளியம், புரசை, புன்கு, புரசமுருக்கு, கொன்றை, மகிழம், அசோகு, புன்னை, நுணா, ஆல், அரசு, வேம்பு, பனை, மூங்கில் முதலிய மரங்கள் விரிந்து பரந்து அடர்ந்து ஓங்கி வெய்யோனுடன் பொருதும். பெருங்களா, காரை, நொச்சி, ஆமணக்கு, எருக்கு, வட்டத்தாரை முதலிய செடிகள் பரவி மரங்களை நோக்கும்; சிறுகளா, சங்கம், கள்ளி, கணவி, மருட்டி, படர்காரை முதலிய தூறுகள் செடிகளைப் பார்த்து நகைக்கும்; தாளி, கோவை, பாலை, புரண்டை முதலியன மரங்களையும், செடிகளையும், தூறுகளையும் பிணித்துப் பின்னிப் படர்ந்து இறுமாந்து கிடக்கும்; முடக்கம், கண்டகம், முள்ளி, முளரி, ஆடாதோடை, ஆடுதின்னாப் பாளை, செருப்படை, தூதுவளை, தும்பை, துழாய், சுண்டை, நாயுருவி, நாக்கடு, ஊமத்தை, கற்றாழை, கொடிவேலி, கண்டங்கத்திரி, அவுரி முதலிய மூலிகைகள் மருத்துவஞ் செய்யும்.''

திரு. வி. க. வாழ்க்கைக் குறிப்புகள், சாது அச்சுக்கூடம், சென்னை, 1944. பக்கம் 82.

12. திரு. வி. க. வாழ்க்கைக் குறிப்புகள், சாது அச்சுக்கூடம், சென்னை, 1944. பக்கம் 108.

care in this modern age for aesthetic education, and whose achievement in the Fine Arts at present is comparatively so barren, especially in painting and sculpture, Kalya:nasundara Mudaliya:r's insistence on the place of the Fine Arts in one's education, comes as a refreshing and welcome surprise. The love of Nature and a life according to Nature confers the blessedness of youth. The God of Nature, Murugan, is the God of perpetual youth. It is his youth which keeps also Nature in perpetual youth. Those who wish to keep young should worship him and are assured of youthfulness, a quality which even the oldest long to have.[13] Like Maraimalai Adikal before him, Kalya:nasundara Mudaliya:r saw no beauty in the conventional, artificial and wooden descriptions of Nature which became the fashion with poets in recent centuries, and which stifled in people the natural appreciation of the true manifestations of Nature.[14]

In his reflections concerning the education of girls, there are passages which remind one of Rousseau's *Emile* and the *New Heloise*. It is interesting to note how at periods of

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13. "இயற்கைத் துணையால் முதியோர், இளமைப்பேறு பெறுதல் அரிதன்று. அமெரிக்காவில் சில அறிஞர் இயற்கைத் துணையால் இளமை காக்க முயன்றுவருகிறார். பண்டைத் தமிழ் நாட்டார் இயற்கையோடு முரண்படா வாழ்வு நடாத்தி, இயற்கை அழகாம் முருகனை வழிபட்டமையான், அவர் இளமை இன்பம் நுகர்ந்து வந்தனர். குமரனை மனமொழி மெய்களால் தொழுவோர் என்றுங் குமரராயிருப்பது இயல்பே. இளமை காக்க விரும்புவோர் என்றும் இளைஞராயுள்ள முருகனைப் பொருள் தெரிந்து போற்றி உய்வாராக."

திரு. வி. க. முருகன் அல்லது அழகு, சாது அச்சுக்கூடம், சென்னை, 1960. பக்கம் 23.

14. "பண்டைத் தமிழர்கள் இயற்கை வழி வாழ்வை நடாத்தியவர்களாதலால், அவர்களால் குறட்டு வரம்புகள் கோலப்படவில்லை. இடைக் காலத்தில் சிலர், சொல்லடுக்கு இன்பத்தில் — போலிச் சந்தத்தில் — கருத்தைச் செலுத்தித் தமிழைக் குலைத்தனர். அவர்கள் பின் வந்தவர், பழந் தமிழர் நிலையை மறந்து, இடைக்காலத்தார் நிலையைத் தமிழ் நிலை என்று உணர்ந்து, தமிழ் வளத்தையே கெடுத்தனர். பழந்தமிழ் மலையும் அருவியும், யாறும், நிலவும், சோலையும் மன அழகாக இன்னும் அதன் அதன்கண் வாழ்வோர்க்கு இன்ப உணர்வை அளித்து வருகின்றன."

தமிழ்ப் புலவர்களுள் பெரும்பான்மையோர், தங்கள் முன்னோர்கள் கூறிய இயற்கை வருணனைகள் அடங்கிய பாடல்களை நெட்டுருச்செய்தும், அவர்கள் கூறிய வருணனைகளையே மீண்டும் மீண்டும் தங்கள் சொற்களால் அடுக்கி அடுக்கி ஆனந்தமுற்றும் வருகிறார்கள்; தாங்கள் தங்கள் அகத்தும் புறத்தும் தோன்றும் இயற்கை இன்பத்தில் தோய்ந்து, அதைப் பாக்களால் பாடி மகிழ்கிறார்களில்லை.

திரு. வி. க. தமிழ்ச் சோலை, (முதற் பகுதி) சாது அச்சுக்கூடம், சென்னை, 1954. பக்கம் 14.

social and industrial revolutions, educators concern themselves with the education of women :

> "Parents ought to train the girl while young in singing and dancing, with Nature in the background. They should educate her in song and dance in such a manner as to recall to her mind trees, plants, creepers, mountains, the moon, sun, and other Nature's objects It was the custom in our country with the older mothers to chant as lullabys, songs connected with the palmyrah palm, the mountain, the moon, the sky and similar objects." 15

Concerned as he was with educating his readers in the love of Nature, he takes every occasion to inculcate it remembering his own boyhood spent among the orchards and mango groves of Madras, and speaks of the positive cultivation of an appreciation of natural beauties, and the physical experience of sun light and moon light, and baths of fresh air and fresh water. He recalls that the worship of the rising sun so long practised in India was conducive to physical health and the appreciation of beauty, and speaks of the benefits conferred by the worship of moon and trees, and the peace to be secured from the sea and the mountain. India's Nature is wonderful and generates the spirit of freedom, while others born into cold climates have recourse to artifice since Nature in their homelands engenders the spirit of subjugating others.[16] Kalya:nasundara Mudaliya:r was convinced that food and dress should conform to the Nature of a

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15. "பெற்றோர் தமது பெண்ணிற்கு இளமையிலேயே இயற்கையைக் காட்டிக் காட்டி, ஆடல் பாடல்களை அறிவுறுத்துவது நல்லது. மரம், செடி, கொடி, மலை, நிலா, ஞாயிறு முதலிய இயற்கைப் பொருள் நினைவு தோன்றும் வழியில் பெண்ணை ஆடுமாறும் பாடுமாறும் பெற்றோர் வளர்த்தல் வேண்டும். நமது நாட்டில் பழைய தாய்மார் பனைப்பாட்டு, மலைப்பாட்டு, நிலாப்பாட்டு, வானப்பாட்டு, பறவைப்பாட்டு முதலிய இயற்கைப் பாடல்களைப் பாடிக் குழந்தைகளைத் தாலாட்டுவது வழக்கம். இயற்கையைப்பற்றிய பல கதைகள் பாட்டிமார் சொல்வதுமுண்டு. திருடன் கதை, கொலைஞன் கதை, குடியன் கதை, பேய்க் கதை, அச்சமூட்டுங் கதை முதலிய ஆபாசக் கதைகளைக் குழந்தைகட்கு எவருஞ் சொல்லுதலே கூடாது. மரஞ்செடிகள் அழகாக வளர்ந்து காய்கனிகள் தருவதையும், காற்று வீசுவதையும், ஞாயிறு ஒளி உமிழ்வதையும் காட்டி, "இம்மரஞ் செடியும், காற்றும், ஞாயிறும் ஏதாவது பயன் கருதிக் கடன்களாற்றுகின்றனவா?" என்று பெற்றோர் அடிக்கடி இளம் பெண்ணுடன் பேசிப் பேசிப் பரோபகார சிந்தையை அவள் உள்ளத்தில் பெருக்குவாராக.

திரு. வி. க. பெண்ணின் பெருமை, சாது அச்சுக்கூடம், சென்னை, *1955*. பக்கம் *79-80*.

16. "இந்தியாவின் இயற்கை நலத்தை என்னென்று புகழ்வது? புலவர்க்கு விருந்தாக விளங்குவது இந்தியாவின் இயற்கை வளமன்றோ?

country. He deprecated the use of tea, coffee, tobacco and meat as well the adoption of Western forms of dress and hair-styles, as unnatural and positively harmful to national health.[17] To him education according to Nature is one in which a life close to Nature, an appreciation of the beauties of Nature, and learning from the Book of Life, as distinct from the world of books, are paramount. But he builds no formal psychological and pedagogic theories which may come under a heading like "Naturalism," though the place of

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செயற்கை நஞ்சை வெறுத்து, இயற்கை அமிழ்தை நுகரும் முனிவரர் உறையும் நாடு நமது பாரத நாடன்றோ? இந்தியாவின் இயற்கையை உன்னுந்தோறும் உள்ளத்தில் அமிழ்தம் ஊறுநிற்கும்.''

''இந்திய மக்கள் தங்கள் நாட்டுப் பொருள் அளவாக நிறைவு கொண்டு வாழ்ந்து வந்தமையான் அவர்கள் அறிவு இயற்கைப் பொருளிடத்தும், அம்முகத்தினும் ஊடுருவிப் பாய, அவணுள்ள இன்பத்தைத் தாங்களும் நுகர்ந்து ஏனையோர்க்கும் ஈந்தார்கள். மற்ற நாட்டவர்கள் குளிரான் நலிந்து வந்தமையான், அவர்கள் அறிவு, இயற்கையில் நுழையாது, செயற்கையிற்பட்டுப் பிறநாடுகளைப் பற்றுவதிலும், அவைகளைப் பற்றி அலைக்க ஆயுதங்களைக் காண்பதிலும் புகுந்து உலகத்துக்கே கேடு சூழ்ந்துவருகிறது. இந்திய மக்கள் அறிவு உலகத்தை நல்வழியில் நிறுத்துவது.''

திரு. வி. க. தமிழ்ச் சோலை. (முதற் பகுதி) சாது அச்சுக்கூடம், சென்னை, 1954. பக்கம் 96, 97, 98.

''விஞ்ஞானத்திற்குப் பிறப்பிடம் இயற்கை. இயற்கைச் சக்திகள் அறிஞரால் ஆராயப்படுகின்றன. அவ்வாராய்ச்சிகள் விஞ்ஞானக் கலைகளாகின்றன.''

''விஞ்ஞானம் ஏன் தோன்றியது? அதன் தோற்றத்துக்குக் காரணம் என்ன? காரணம் மலர்ந்து விரிந்து பெருகிவரும் உலகம், ஒரு காலத்தில் விஞ்ஞானத்தின் துணையாலேயே நடக்கும் நிலைமை நேரும் என்று இயற்கை அன்னை எண்ணியதாகும். வருங்கால நிலையைப் பன்னூறு ஆண்டுகட்குமுன்னரே உணரும் ஆற்றல் இயற்கை அன்னைக்கு உண்டு. அதனால் வருங்கால உலகின் தேவைகளுக்குரிய சாதனங்களை இயற்கை அன்னை முன்னரே அருள்வது அவளது இயல்பு.''

''விஞ்ஞான வளர்ச்சிக்கென்று சாம்ராஜ்யமும் வளர இயற்கை அன்னை திருவுளம் கொண்டாள்போலும். இனி இயற்கை அன்னையின் திருவுள்ளம் மாறுதலடையலாம். அவள் சேயாகிய விஞ்ஞானத்துக்குச் சாம்ராஜ்ய உதவி இனி வேண்டுவதில்லை.''

திரு. வி. க. பரம்பொருள் அல்லது வாழ்க்கை வழி, சாது அச்சுக்கூடம், சென்னை, 1959. பக்கம் 30-31.

17. ''நாடுகளின் இயற்கைக்கேற்றவாறு பொருள்களை ஆங்காங்கே கடவுள் படைத்திருக்கிறார். அவ்வந்நாட்டார் அவ்வந்நாட்டுப் பொருள்களையே கொள்வது நலன். மாறுபட்டு நடப்பது இயற்கையை மறந்து நடப்பதாகும். நமது நாட்டில் மரணத்தொகை பெருகுதற்குப் பல காரணங்களுண்டு. அவற்றுள் ஒன்று நம்மவரிற் சிலர் நாட்டின் இயல்புக்குரிய உணவு கொள்ளாமை. காபியும், டீயும் நமது நாட்டைக் கொலைசெய்கின்றன. அவற்றால் நமது நாட்டில் நீரிழிவும் காசமும் பெருகி வருவது கண்கூடு. கேழ்வரகு அவ்விரண்டு நோயையும் அழிக்கும் பொருள் என்பதை நகரவாசிகளிற் சிலர் இப்பொழுது உணர்ந்து வருகின்றனர்.''

திரு. வி. க. தமிழ்த் தென்றல், சாது அச்சுக்கூடம், சென்னை, 1934, பக்கம் 132.

Nature as understood in Basic Education finds great favour with him.

Nature and Cities

As a believer and promoter of Ga:ndhism in politics and in economics, whereby the self-sufficient village would remain the unit of the economic life of the nation, Kalya:nasundara Mudaliya:r finds industrialisation and urbanisation grossly unnatural. The dress should be simple, and life should be close to Nature in small towns and villages. Though cities did exist in the ancient Tamil country, they were located in surroundings where Nature's beauties dominated, but the city of today with its great crowds, its small houses, its inadequate drainage, its smells and its sounds are " an actual living hell." He himself because of certain occupational facilities was condemned to live in cities, but his heart was in the country, and as he describes the unnaturalness of the city, he is no doubt thinking of the scenes he has witnessed in sections of the South Indian cities to which rural populations were flocking in ever increasing numbers. The physiognomy of the city had changed for the worse and there was no inspiration possible for the poet or writer in the modern city.

> " What is it that you obtain in the modern city but the sound of machinery, the refuse drain, emergency regulations, poverty, electioneering propaganda, petty caste and religious controversies and such like phenomena? Could these ever inspire poetry? This man made artifice is hell indeed " 18

To enjoy the beauty of a city one must have recourse to the poetry of the ancients, and there find beauty within the palm-leaf manuscripts or the printed book. While describing the circumstances of his life in Madras and the many incon-

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18. " இந்நிலையில் வாழ்ந்த நம் முன்னோர்கள் மணம்போல நாடும் மணம் வீசிக்கொண்டிருந்தது. தற்கால நாடுகளிலும் நகரங்களிலும் என்ன இருக்கின்றன? சொல்லவும் வேண்டுமோ? இயந்திர ஒலியும் ஓட்டமும், சாக்கடை ஓடையும், அடக்குமுறையும், வறுமையும், தேர்தல் பிரசாரமும், சாதி சமயப்போர்ச் சிறுமையும், பிறவும் எங்கணுங் காட்சியளிக்கின்றன."

திரு. வி. க. தமிழ்ச் சோலை, சாது அச்சுக்கூடம், சென்னை, 1954, பக்கம் 19-50.

veniences which compelled him to write by night, he speaks of the glimpse he was privileged to have of the green tops of trees by the day and the light of the stars by night. There is in those pages the satisfaction that he is making the best of the situation which circumstances have imposed and to which he is fully reconciled, but there is no doubt, either, that he would have welcomed life in closer association with Nature, and a retirement with less disturbance from the outside world which would have afforded the leisure to be dedicated for writing :

> " A great beauty moves about my room. To the left, the coconut groves and the mango tree and the murunkai shed their green and the sky its blue through the window. They attract both my thoughts and my eyes. Those sights bring to my heart the peace that is like woman. At night the twinkling of the stars brings relief."[19]

The Natural and the Unnatural

The precise and total area which Kalya:nasundara Mudāliya:r described as Nature in his applications of the term, is not easily outlined or defined. Apart from the religious concept of Nature whereby the physical world is considered to be the visible body of the Perfect Being and therefore arrayed in Beauty, Kalya:nasundara Mudaliya:r has other concepts of Nature, philosophic, moral and aesthetic.

Kalya:nasundarar's definition of Nature is also made clearer and sharper by his statements as to what are unnatural and artificial, as expressed in the term " seyarkai ". To him Nature contains within itself Science and scientific discoveries. The law of evolution is a natural law of Nature's process of self-revelation, from which emerge the knowledge of laws and energies as and when required by the human race.[20] Nature would never permit evil to conquer the world ; Nature could never permit the fragmentation of the

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19. திரு. வி. க. வாழ்க்கைக் குறிப்புகள், பக்கம் 98.

20. " விஞ்ஞானத்திற்குப் பிறப்பிடம் இயற்கை. இயற்கைச் சக்திகள் அறிஞரால் ஆராயப்படுகின்றன. அவ்வாராய்ச்சிகள் விஞ்ஞானக் கலைகளாகின்றன."

world by colonial powers or by narrow nationalism. Nature is all blessedness and the kind mother who fosters, corrects, forgives, and who eliminates wickedness. But why then are there in this world so many unnatural and artificial ways of life? To this query, Kalya:nasundarar would answer like a good Siddha:ntist that *Ignorance* coexists with the soul, and God has left it to both individual and collective human effort to remove Ignorance by living according to Nature, that is by a conscious attempt to eradicate all evils like anger and greed which proceed from this congenital Ignorance. *Ariya:mai*, the Tamil word for Ignorance, denotes the existence of some positive element which has to be eradicated. And as Ignorance is removed, and ways and means are found to remove it by fidelity to the right life and its practices, then ignorance lessens and the light of understanding becomes brighter and illuminates progressively larger areas of knowledge and experience. A life according to Nature is no other than the conscious cultivation of goodness, kindliness, human brotherhood and a reverence for all life, while the unnatural life which is brought about by permitting the activity of ignorance brings about anger, discord, greed, caste and colonialism.[21]

"விஞ்ஞானம் ஏன் தோன்றியது? அதன் தோற்றத்துக்குக் காரணம் என்ன? காரணம் மலர்ந்து விரிந்து பெருகிவரும் உலகம். ஒரு காலத்தில் விஞ்ஞானத்தின் துணையாலேயே நடக்கும் நிலைமை நேரும் என்று இயற்கை அன்னை எண்ணியதாகும். வருங்கால நிலையைப் பன்னூறு ஆண்டுகட்கு முன்னரே உணரும் ஆற்றல் இயற்கை அன்னைக்கு உண்டு. அதனால் வருங்கால உலகின் தேவைகளுக்குரிய சாதனங்களை இயற்கை அன்னை முன்னரே அருள்வது அவளது இயல்பு.

திரு. வி. க. பரம்பொருள் அல்லது வாழ்க்கை வழி, சாது அச்சுக்கூடம், சென்னை, 1959. பக்கம் 30.

21. "உயிர்களின் அறியாமையை விலக்கும்பொருட்டு, எல்லா உலகங்களையும் கடந்துநிற்கும் பரம்பொருள், அவ்வுலகங்கள் எல்லாவற்றிலுங் கலந்தும் நிற்பதாயிற்று. இதுவே கருணை, பெருங் கருணை. அளப்பருங் கருணை. இக்கருணையை என்னென்று வியப்பது. என்னென்று புகழ்வது? என்னென்று போற்றுவது? அதை வியந்து, புகழ்ந்து போற்றிய பெரியோர் பாக்களை ஓதி ஓதி உருகுவோமாக."

"இயற்கைப் பரம் உயிர்களின் அறியாமையைப் படிப்படியே விலக்கக் கருணை கூர்கிறது. பரம்பொருளின் கருணை உயிர்களுக்குப் பலப்பல உடலங்களைக் கொடுக்கிறது. அக்கொடை, உயிர்களின் அறியாமையை, அவ்வவ்வுடலுக்கு ஏற்றவாறு, அவ்வவ்வளவில் ஒதுக்குகிறது. அறியாமை ஒதுங்க ஒதுங்க அவ்வவ்வளவில் அறிவு விளக்கம்பெறும். இவ் விளக்கத்துக்கு மூலமாயிருப்பது பரத்தின் அருட்பெருங்கொடை என்பதை மறத்தலாகாது.

திரு. வி. க. பரம்பொருள் அல்லது வாழ்க்கை வழி, சாது அச்சுக்கூடம், சென்னை, 1959. பக்கம் 43.

Evolution is therefore the dynamic aspect of Nature. All life is in a process of evolution ; the change in convictions from day to day, and the process of education itself, resulting in the frequent change of personality in the individual is an aspect of Evolution in the human form of life.

In his definition of the unnatural Kalya:nasundarar includes many topical questions of universal interest. It is natural for the inhabitants of a well defined and traditional territory to be governed by themselves ; foreign rule and colonialism are unnatural. The concept of varna is natural, but the concept of caste is unnatural. It is natural to be patriotic, to love one's own language and one's own nation but the suppression of these virtues is unnatural.[22] Just as lawyers are his pet aversion, so is also the concept of asceticism which renounces the world and marriage. In several places he pronounces celibacy to be unnatural, and has no regard for the asceticism which takes itself away from the world and seeks refuge in the forest and mountain hideouts. If old classical texts be brought in support of " unnatural renunciation," his answer is that these texts are misquoted and misinterpreted ; all that the texts inculcate is moderation in pleasure, and the use of the faculties and powers according to right reason. He considers the demand to mortify the senses an absurd one, since the senses are the gates through which Beauty, God's Beauty, is apprehended. Woman is the perfection and the realisation in concrete of all the Beauty that Nature possesses in a limited and particularised manner

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22. "எவரெவரை இயற்கை எங்கெங்கே பிறப்பிக்கிறதோ, அவரவர் ஆங்காங்கே உள்ள வழக்க ஒழுக்கங்கட்கு இயைந்த வாழ்வு நடாத்துவது இயற்கை அன்னையை வழிபடுவதாகும். ஆங்காங்குள்ள தட்ப வெட்ப நிலைக்கேற்ற வண்ணம், இயற்கை அன்னை, மொழி, நாடு, பொருள் முதலியவற்றை வழங்கி இருக்கிறாள். அவ்வளவில் உள்ள நிறைகொண்டு வாழ்வது இயற்கை வாழ்வாகும். நிறைகொள்ளாது பேராசையால் மற்ற நாடுகளையும் பொருள்களையும்பற்றி வாழ விரும்புவது செயற்கை வாழ்வாகும். இதனால் இயற்கைக்கு மாறுபட்ட வினைகள் நிகழ்கின்றன. அவ்வினைகளால் ஏற்றத் தாழ்வும், அடக்குமுறையும், பிற கொடுமைகளும் உலகிடை நுழைந்து துன்புறுத்துகின்றன. உலகில் இன்ப நுகர்ச்சியும் இல்லாதொழிகிறது. இப்பொழுது உலகம் எந்நிலையிலிருக்கிறது? செயற்கை வெம்மையில் வீழ்ந்து எரிந்துகொண்டிருக்கிறது."

திரு. வி. க. தமிழ்த் தென்றல், சாது அச்சுக்கூடம், சென்னை, 1954, பக்கம் 8.

in other objects of creation and in the manifestations of the Fine Arts.[23]

The life according to Nature is further enriched by altruistic service and by practice of the doctrine of ahimsa. The author is most grateful to Providence for giving him the opportunity for service in various spheres, political, linguistic, literary, religious and social, and prays for rebirth so that he might have again the opportunities for service to Tamil and to humanity. To Beythan, the German missionary who invited him to teach Tamil in Germany, all that he could reply was that he hoped he might be able to do it in his next birth. He longed to translate Tolstoy into Tamil. Since circumstances were not favourable to what would have been a labour of love, he hoped to engage in the task of translation in his next birth, and of writing those other books for which he has had no time in this birth. Life, or better human birth is to be considered as an opportunity for service.[24]

The theory of Aesthetics elaborated especially in his book " Murukan or Beauty " and summarised in most of his later books, may be summed up as God is Beauty and Beauty is God, and Nature is Beauty and Nature is God. Beauty which is *ens* appears to the senses through Nature, which is the source of all the Fine Arts.

Nature and the World Community

I think it may be asserted with fair amount of accuracy that Kalya:nasundara Mudaliya:r was able to transcend national linguistic frontiers in his thought because of his concept of Nature. From the Oneness and unity of Nature

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23. உலகத்திலுள்ள இயற்கை வனப்பெல்லாம் திரண்டு பெண் தெய்வமாகிக் காட்சியளிக்கின்றன. "பெண்ணின் முகம் ஒரு புத்தகம்" என்று அறிஞர் பைரன் என்பார் கூறியிருக்கிறார். இயற்கை வனப்பை ஓரிடத்தில் திரட்டிக் காட்சியளிக்கும் ஒரு பெரும் அழகு நிலையம் என்றும் பெண்ணைக் கூறலாம். அத்தகைய அழகு நிலையத்தை எச்சொல்லால் சொல்வது? எவ்வெழுத்தால் எழுதுவது?"

திரு. வி. க. பெண்ணின் பெருமை, சாது அச்சுக்கூடம், சென்னை, 1955. பக்கம் 115.

24. திரு. வி. க. வாழ்க்கைக் குறிப்புக்கள், சாது அச்சுக்கூடம், சென்னை, 1944. பக்கம் 143, 139.

he argued quite independently of Western writers, the unity of Mankind and the possibility of a World Community. Altruism, Human Brotherhood, and a One World idea, he says, is essentially the Tamil philosophy, but with the usual naivety which characterises patriotic rhetoric, he says, that wherever these ideas are to be had, there are to be found Tamil philosophy and Tamil Culture.[25] As he advanced in years and experience, Kalya:nasundara Mudaliya:r was disposed more and more to think on world unity, and elaborated his philosophy of one mankind and the unity of all religions and religious beliefs. He draws his arguments from all the philosophies and religions found in India, and his optimism and humanism from the Saiva Siddha:ntha philosophy and from Tamil classical literature. He speaks of this new age which is fast approaching when a person after breakfasting in Madras, would return for lunch in Madras after stopovers in London and Moscow. Human thought was now concentrating more on the oneness of Nature than on the components of Nature. Earlier in his life he had stated that he was first and foremost a Tamil, then an Indian, then a Citizen of the World.

> "But now I have begun to say that first and foremost I am a Citizen of the World, secondly an Indian, and thirdly a Tamil. I am now convinced that if the world prospers, Tamil will prosper, and Tamil Nad will prosper" "Mother Nature has decided that the World must *now* be one" 26

Nature to him was a most comprehensive reality containing even the problems and the solutions of the Individual and of Society.

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25. "இம்முறையில் இயற்கைக் கல்வி பெருகுகிறது. அக்கல்வி பெருகப் பெருக என்ன தெரிகிறது? இயற்கைக் கூறுகளெல்லாம் ஒன்றன் விரிவு என்பது தெரிகிறது. அதனால், "யாதும் ஊரே யாவருங் கேளிர்" என்னும் பொதுமை விளக்கமுறுகிறது. பொதுமை—அறம்—அத்தண்மை—எல்லாம் ஒன்றே. பொதுமை இயற்கை நெறி. இயற்கை நெறியே, தமிழ் நெறி. இந்நெறியில் நின்றொழுகும் பேறு ஓரளவிலாதல் யான் அடைந்தமை குறித்து மகிழ்வெய்துகிறேன். அதைக் கூட்டியது எதுவோ அதை வாழ்த்துகிறேன், வணங்குகிறேன்."

திரு. வி. க. வாழ்க்கைக் குறிப்புக்கள், சாது அச்சுக்கூடம், சென்னை. 1944. பக்கம் 123.

26. இயற்கை அன்னையின் நோக்கு உலகை ஒரு சமூகமாக்குவதில் திரும்பிவருகிறது. அவள், உறுப்பின் நிலையை மாற்றி, அதை உலக

நினைப்பாக்கக் கருதிவிட்டனள். இனி எவ்விதத் தடையும் நேராது. "உலகம்" "உலகம்" என்னும் எண்ணம் ஓங்கி வளர்க."

"சில காலத்துக்குமுன்னர், "யான் முதலில் தமிழன், இரண்டாவது இந்தியன், மூன்றாவது உலகவன்" என்று சொல்லிவந்தேன். இனி அவ்வாறு சொல்ல என் மனம் விரையாது. காலநிலை மாறியது. அதற்கேற்ப என் கருத்தும் மாறியது. இப்பொழுது, "யான் முதலில் உலகவன், இரண்டாவது இந்தியன், மூன்றாவது தமிழன்" என்று சொல்லிவருகிறேன். உலகம் வாழ்ந்தால், "தமிழ் வாழும், தமிழ் நாடும் வாழும்" என்னும் உறுதி எனக்கு ஏற்பட்டுவிட்டது."

"இப்பொழுது சிலர் "எம் நாடு", "எம் நாடு" என்று பேசுகின்றனர். அதைக் காணும் தமிழர் வாயும், "எம் நாடு", "எம் நாடு" என்று எதிரொலி செய்கிறது. இது தமிழரிடைப் புகுந்த செயற்கை. தமிழரது இயற்கையன்று."

திரு. வி. க. பரம்பொருள் அல்லது வாழ்க்கை வழி, சாது அச்சுக்கூடம், சென்னை, 1959. பக்கம் 170, 172.

"என்னுடைய நூல்களெல்லாம் இயற்கையோடியைந்த வாழ்வை அறிவுறுத்தல் உங்கட்குத் தெரியும்" உள்ளொளி, பக்கம் 252.

Tamil Political Journalism—The pre-Ghandhian Period[1]

V. SUBRAMANIAM

I. The late beginnings.

A significant starting point for an historian of Tamil political journalism is the year 1878 ; that year, when Lord Lytton called for opinions on his draft Vernacular Press Bill to restrict Indian language journals, the main dissenting note defending them came from a member of the Madras Governor's Council ;[2] ultimately when the Act was passed, the Madras Presidency was excluded from its operation ; anyway, the Tamil Journals that existed were non-political and their comments on the Act were complacent if not commendatory. All this was in startling contrast with conditions in Bengal where the Bengali Press and the Viceroy were ranged bitterly against each other and the contrast becomes puzzling if we remember that the first printing press was established and the first book in Tamil printed over a century earlier to the first Journal in Bengal.[3] To attempt an explanation, one should consider in detail the actual conditions in Madras about that time and the history of the preceding decades which led to such conditions.

The lack of interest in politics in Madras in 1878 comes out in bold relief through a contemporary experience of Surendranath Banerjee, and a tell-tale comment in the Madras Government Administration Report of the same year. Banerjee confessed in 1927 that Madras, then " so instinct with the public life of India," was in 1878 " the only place in all India, where he found it impossible to hold a public meeting upon a question of vital interest to our people and in regard to which there was practical unanimity all over India."[4] No wonder the Madras Administration Report of 1877—78 was gently surprised (in its section on books and publications) to find " an anonymous pamphlet in *English*

professing to deal with the question what is the form of Government that India should obtain at the hands of England" and "a new edition of a *Telugu work* on Zamindari administration remarkable as having emanated from one of the Zamindars," when "as a rule books and pamphlets on political subjects (were) rare in this part of India." There was no occasion for anyone to show surprise at the complete absence of political journals in Tamil.

Of the fourteen contemporary Tamil journals[5] only two, namely *Dinavarthamani* and *Vettycodyone*, could be called newspapers even by courtesy and a third, *Desopakari*, (not found in the Registrar's list) was probably a sort of a newspaper.[6] Two more, namely *Salem Patriot* and *Palani Sthala Vinotham* were country publications devoted to local news and the others were either Christian religious publications such as *Narpotham*, *Arunothayam*, *Sathia Varthamany*, *Sathia Theepam*, and *Amirtha Vachani*, or Hindu Religious publications such as *Gnana Bhanu*, *Vethantha Nirnaya Patrika* and *Siddhanta Sangraham*, with *Janavinodini* as a lone-non-political non-religious general magazine. The last mentioned, burying the news of Lytton's Vernacular Press Act in the last paragraph of its last page (in its March-April issue of 1878,) commented with aloofness : "Because some editors of Vernacular newspapers in north Hindustan have published articles against the British Government, bringing it into ridicule and contempt, and also because many papers (excepting ones conducted by native Maharajahs) have threatened to write defamatory articles on Maharajahs, the Government have suddenly promulgated an Act to the effect that unless the editors furnish security that they would not attack the Government, the papers will not be allowed to publish. The Act was passed without much prior notice because the Government felt that discussing the measure would lead to more evil. It is understood that the Act might be criticized and opposed in the British Parliament, but *since we have vowed when starting our Journal not to write on government, religion or such other controversial subjects, we will not be exposed to any risk, whatever happens*

to the Act."[7] Even such a complacent comment was avoided by *Desopakari* which simply gave the news about the Act, adding, Coverley-like ; " There are different opinions about the need and usefulness of this Act."[8] It is a safe guess that both *Dina Varthamani* (originally sponsored by Rev. Percival) and *Vettycodyone*, played safe in their comments on the Act even if they did not support it.[9] Is it surprising that Hon. Sir. W. Robinson of the Madras Governor's Council could say of the Vernacular press he knew, that it " was not as vulgar or extravagant as Mr. Eden, Lieut. Governor of Bengal, estimated it to be " and that " the hostile criticism of the native press rarely went beyond reasonable limits."[10] He could even afford to expand on the Vernacular press as " a useful barometer of native feeling " or as " a good deterrant against corrupt officials " when no strong feeling existed anyway and deterrant comments were rare. if any. It was no surprise that such advice was not taken seriously by the Lieut. Governor or the Viceroy who faced a hostile (even if justly hostile) press in Bengal, nor was it surpiising that Madras Presidency was excluded from the operation of the Act the need for which did not exist therein.

How can all this be explained ? A complete and convincing explanation is difficult but one can attempt an explanation in terms of the different political and journalistic histories of Madras and Bengal respectively. This comparative historical study falls broadly into two periods, namely the pre-1857 and the post-1857 years.

A survey of the history of Journalism in north India in the first period shows four stages of development ; Christian missionaries initially started Indian language journals to propagate their gospel—denigrating Hindu customs in this process ; this led to the launching of Hindu reformist Journals to fight Christian missionary propaganda and reform Hinduism from within ; they were soon followed by Hindu orthodox Journals to fight Hindu reformist ideas ; and finally religious journals slowly gave place to journals of social and political controversy.[11] For example, the Seiampore mis-

sionaries (after feeling the official pulse with a Bengali monthly *Dig Dursan*) launched in 1818 the weekly *Samachar Durpan*, which indulged in criticism of Hindu religious customs. To counter this, Bowani Charan Banerjee started an organ of Hindu social and political reform, namely the weekly *Sambad Kaumudi*, which was later taken over by Rajah Ram Mohan Roy who also started the Persian *Moiatul Akbar*, frightening the authorities with his theological polemics. The next spurt of growth in the Bengali Press in 1830 could be based more on a social and political impetus; the *Banga Dut* was started by the Tagore brothers and Rajah Ram Mohan Roy and *Samachar Subha Rajendra* was started by Sher Alimullah and by then there were altogether three dailies, one triweekly, two biweeklies, seven weeklies, two bimonthlies and a monthly. All this could feed on the support of a " large class of Hindoo population of Calcutta who have become imbued to a certain extent with English tastes and notions " and a consequent love of news, though " poverty and want of curiosity " limited the circulation to the city.

In Bombay again, religious controversy was the original impetus behind the Gujerathi and Parsee Press; Fardoonji Mursban established the first Gujerathi Press in 1812 to counter missionary propaganda; the orthodox retorted rather feebly to reformism; much later, when social and political questions assumed importance, *Mumbai Vartman* was established as a weekly and changed over to a biweekly called *Mumbai Harkaru Aur Vartman*, followed years later by the two 'political' papers namely *Rast Goftar* of Dadhabhoy Naoroji in 1851 and *Akbar-e-Sodgar* of Kavasji in 1852. In the North-west Province, while religious controversy played a lesser part, the press developed on reformist lines; the Syed brothers (Syed Mohammed Khan and Sir Syed Ahmed) founded *Sayyedul Akbar* in the interests of educational reform, and Delhi became the centre of a few general Urdu papers.

In Madras however, there were only three Journals in Tamil before 1857. The first Tamil journal was probably

the *Tamil Magazine* published by the Religious Tract Society in 1831, which lived on for a few years after 1833. The next newspaper in Tamil, *Rajya Vriththi Bodhini* started in 1855 published general intelligence, chiefly translated from English newspapers, and probably had a circulation of 100 copies.[12] The first weekly paper was *Dina Varthamani,* and was started in 1855 as a Journal of general intelligence (domestic and foreign). It was edited by the Rev. P. Percival and published at the Dravidian Press, and claimed a circulation of 1000 at 2 annas a copy. It received a grant from the Madras Government which was justified by the Director of Public Instruction from both " an educational " and " *political point of view.*"[13] A little later, the American Mission Press started *Quarterly Repository* which was apparently distributed free of charge with a circulation of 800. In general, the following judgment of J. Natarajan on this period of Tamil Journalism is fair and relevant :[14]

> In the pre-rebellion period Tamil Journalism engaged neither in social nor in political controversies. Run exclusively by Missionaries, information must have been confined largely to material approved by Government. Articles were extracted from English newspapers without reproducing any of their objectionable features. As already pointed out even the English language newspapers were careful in their publication of matters likely to offend the Government as censorship in Madras was more stringent than elsewhere in India in the early years of newspaper production.

The fact that the Tamil journals were being run exclusively by missionaries was not the only nor even the main cause of this stagnation; indeed all the factors which quickened the development of the language press in the north were absent in the south. The chain reaction which Christian missionaries started in Bengal with their language journals, leading Hindu Reformers and orthodox Hindus to inaugurate their own—did not seem to work that way in Madras ; missionary success with the lower caste Hindus went largely unnoticed by the community ; and no corps-de-elite

of English-educated Tamil Mohan Roys and Tagores arose in this period to reform their religion or to fight the foreign missionaries with the language press.[15] On the political plane, the seat of government and the centre of political interest was Calcutta ; it was the centre of political controversies such as the freedom of the press ; it was the military headquarters which heard the first news of battles in north India ; and it was the port of call for steamers with news from Europe. Calcutta was again the centre of publication of English papers from which the language papers took their news. Lastly, it contained that small nucleus of readers for the language press consisting mostly of local westernized gentry. Madras had none of these favourable factors ; it was not an important seat of Government ; there was little local politics to discuss, for the unsuccessful resistance to British rule in the earlier years came from a heroic, revivalist, chieftain class of Polygars, with no substantial middle class to buttress it ; news from England reached late ; there were not many Englishmen and no vigorous press ; there were few westernized Indians to want to start a newspaper in an Indian language and sustain it ; and because of its isolation from the centre of news and political controversy, there developed little taste for news which had anyway no immediate local relevance. In view of all this it occasions little surprise that in the Tamilnad of 1857 the first Tamil news-weekly was edited by an English Christian Missionary and government servant who received a government grant, —when *Dootiben, Sultan-ul-Akbar* and *Samachar Soodhabhurshan* in north India were prosecuted for anti-Governmental writing and the *Bombay Samachar,* the Jam-e-Jamshed and the *Rast Goftar* were defending Indian character.

Conditions in the post-1857 period up to 1878 were even more responsible for the difference between Madras and Bengal. The rebellion of 1857 was followed by a reign of terror unleashed by the vengeful army of the East India Company, vivid pictures of which have been provided by various English writers and Indian nationalism of the bomb

and revolver type, of angry editorials, of Kali worship and secret societies, took its origin in the stresses and strains of that unhappy period. Perceptive writers of this period saw that English cruelty after 1857 in turn led to murders of British officials, and violent outbursts in the Indian language press. For example, Garrat, in his book *Indian Commentary* quoting from W. H. Russel, G. O. Trevelyan and Edwardes, shows how the orgy of massacre and oppression in the post-1857 years changed the loyal attitude of many Indians, how in the years that followed, Englishmen went on the assumption that one English life was worth many Indian lives, and how retaliation came from the Indian side in the shape of murders of Englishmen and in the defence of such acts by the Indian language press of Bengal. Garrat quotes Theodore Morrison who said " It is an ugly fact which it is no use to disguise that the murder of natives by Englishmen is no infrequent occurrence. In one issue of the *Amrita Bazaar Patrika* of this month three contemporary cases are dealt with in none of which the prisoners paid the full penalty for murder." He also quotes J. M. Mitra who said in his *Anglo-Indian Studies* : " The unrest then sprang some decades ago from the personal ill-treatment of the natives by Englishmen who ought to have been deported from the country. This was utilized, probably magnified, by the Vernacular Press and from such beginnings, unrest has developed into seditious bomb-throwing and violence." Typical of this period was this comment of *Amirt-Bazaar* Patrika in 1875 on the murder of Colonel Phayre in Baroda : " To emasculate a nation that the Government might rule without trouble ; surely to poison an obscure Colonel is by far a lighter crime." It was easy indeed for Sir Campbell in early 1876 to prepare a large dossier of such inflammatory writing to buttress the arguments of Lord Lytton and Ashley Eden for the Vernacular Press Act of 1878. But the rebellion of 1857 did not affect Madras, and there was no aftermath of bitterness, no politics based on bitterness nor a press to give vent to it. Nor was there much keenness to get news of what was happening in other parts of India and the fairly well-established English press in Madras was compa-

ratively less provocative towards either the Government or Indians than its counterparts in Bengal and Bombay.

The foregoing historical explanation is probably not complete but all such factors as the comparatively easier conquest of the Madras Presidency by the East India Company, the peaceful rule following the earlier anarchy, the isolation of Madras from the cross-currents of political, social and religious controversy in Bengal and Bombay and the non-participation of Madras in the 1857 rebellion and its bitter aftermath add up to explain a non-political atmosphere and a poorly developed press in Madras in 1878. It is interesting to note that a senior Tamil journalist writing in 1904, tried to account historically for the condition of the Tamil press in 1878 in much the same terms :[16]

> Even long after public conferences and newspapers were common in other parts of India to explain to people the good as well as mistaken acts of the British Government, right till 1880, there were no public conferences nor newspapers in the Madras Presidency. There were many reasons for this. The first was that the Madrasis did not have as much schooling in public life as other parts of India to take an interest in public affairs. Another was that Madrasis did not yet fully realize that the Britishers were ruling India not for the sole benefit of the native, but for their own good and profit. A third was probably the fear, selfishness, and indolence, natural to the South. Fifty or sixty years ago, South Indians were interested only in building temples, arranging festivals, feeding Brahmins, and in religious controversy. In addition they firmly believed that Almighty had sent his angles in the shape of the British, in his infinite mercy, to save the great religions and customs of the Hindus who were crushed under Juggernaut of Muslim Rule and that only under the British, would their customs and religion, grow and flourish as a child would on mother's milk ; and as the suffering patient believes the red chalk given by the medicineman to be gold ash or the white poison to be sugar candy and feels glad ; so also they pointed to the railways and post-offices the British Government had established with pride as proof of the govern-

> ment's good intentions and rewards for their faith. Our forbears then, had neither the brains nor the boldness to ask questions about themselves and their rulers, their rights, the rights of the British to rule India and how they got it and why they came here at all. Along with the fear inspired by the weapons and guns of the British army came this faith in their goodness. Hence Madrasis began to believe firmly that whatever the British did was for their good. Government and God's law were equated and to criticize the Government was considered as great a crime as to stray from God's law. But apart from this commonalty immersed in this convenient ignorance of politics, there were a few, educated in the Western tradition, who had their own doubts about the government's deeds. But only strong public opinion can move a government and then as now, the opinions and criticisms of individuals were fruitless.... At this time Lord Lytton who was the Viceroy went his own way without caring for public opinion. When there was famine in two provinces of India he celebrated the Delhi Durbar. When the people had scarcely recovered from the effects of the famine, he imposed more taxes on them. He gagged the Vernacular Press and forbade by law the carrying of arms by Indians. While the people were groaning under all this, there was no representative conference or newspaper (in Madras) to ventilate their grievances. While the people of Bombay and Bengal, at least shouted aloud their grievances through conferences and papers, the Madrasis were unable even to cry out their woes. To be brief, there was no formulated public opinion. This was the state of affairs in Madras when in 1878, G. Subramanya Iyer stepped out of his teaching profession into the wider sphere of public life.

This explanation, florid, verbose, hyperbolic and based on faulty popular history and on exaggerated self-pity for the supposed native characteristics of the Madrasis, nevertheless draws attention to the important fact that in Madras, British rule was welcomed with relief after the anarchy of the 18th century and the blessings of peace did not conduce to critical political thought or vocal language press.

II.—The Gradual Growth.

From 1882 to 1916 the Tamil political press developed slowly but steadily; the oldest Tamil newspaper *Swadesamitran* pioneered in 1882, by G. Subramania Iyer had grown up under his control into early manhood by 1915 when he sold it to A. Rangaswamy Iyengar; some lesser political and social journals began to make their appearance in the later part of this period ; and the Madras Administration reports changed their tone from contempt in 1878 to complacency in the first decade of this century to concern near the end of this period. The growth was slow and steady like the very character of the chief and pioneering editor who spanned the period.

The period falls naturally into three sub-divisions ; the first seventeen years from 1882 to 1899 were the slow burgeoning years when *Swadesamitran* changed from a weekly to a bi-weekly to a tri-weekly on to a daily in 1899 ; the next nine years to 1908 saw its secure establishment among the Tamil reading public as *the* Tamil daily and an increasing pace of political consciousness ; and in the next eight years (to 1916) it grew in stature and circulation channelling political consciousness into more constitutional agitation.

To understand this period, we need to understand what exactly its key figure G. Subramania Iyer attempted to do and the following passage shows what little hesitation or subtlety he had in his passionate desire for "public education" through his *Hindu* and *Swadesamitran*.[17]

> "In this country the functions and responsibilities of the Press are not the same that are associated with it in the Western Countries and this difference is accentuated under the peculiar conditions in our country and at the present day and more especially in the period which covers the origin and growth of 'The Hindu.'
>
> The Indian Press is not representative of mature public opinion. To represent mature public opinion is only a suboridinate function of it because public opinion has no constitutional or regular channel of making itself felt in the Coun-

> cils of the Empire. *Its more serious and more important function is to form public opinion, to educate public opinion and to direct to along channels of public utility and public improvement* and this peculiarity of the task of the Indian Press was most particularly felt at the time when *The Hindu* was started. It was the duty of *The Hindu* to create public opinion to reflect and then receive support from it, which it was instrumental in forming."

Both *Swadesamitran* and *The Hindu* were born out of this passionate desire kindled originally by Lord Ripon's scheme of local self-government ; and during his lecture tours of Tamilnad following its inauguration—he realized the immediate need for a permanent newspaper (in Tamil and English) to supplement political education through the platform.

But this education was based on two basic assumptions and conducted within certain limits. The first assumption was that fundamentally British Government was good and that there was no possible alternative to it for years to come. The second was that it was one's duty, particularly that of an editor, to bring to light any shortcomings or derelictions of duty on the part of officials and grievances of Indian subjects. Both assumptions find frequent expression in his speeches and writings. In the first Congress session of 1885 he thus introduced the first resolution :[18] "By a merciful dispensation of Providence, India, which was for centuries the victim of external aggression and plunder, of internal civil wars and general confusion, has been brought under the dominion of the great British power." While this attitude of passionate loyalty changed slowly, Iyer saw no alternative to British rule and he conducted all his campaigns for the betterment of the people on that basis. In a leading article entitled—" Why this distrust of Indians ? " he sets out with engaging frankness, his two assumptions that British rule was basically benign but they had to fight with the Government for their rights and for redress of their grievances. In another leading article (of 3rd July 1901,) he refutes imputations of disloyalty, and claims that grievance-airing was a service to the Government and the people.

Such assumptions were of course part of the stock-in-trade of contemporary Congress stalwarts all over India, but in Tamilnad, they had a wider and more undisputed currency through Iyer's editorial dominance right down 1915 —without any serious challenge from more revolutionary rivals.[19] Such criticism of the administration coupled with professed loyalty to the regime made easy too the survival of the newspaper as an educative instrument, an objective enunciated by Sisir Kumar and applauded by Tilak but more effectively carried out by Iyer.[20] The slow transition from loyalty to complacency, concern, and Gandhian non-co-operation in Tamilnad without the interludes of political revivalism, terrorism and frustration, was as much a product of *Mitran's* policy of political education as that policy itself was a product of contemporary Congress liberalism and Tamil love of gradualism. We shall now examine in more detail the political education of Tamilnad and the working out of these assumptions by *Swadesamitran,* the part played by the few other Journals and the net effect on the public and the government.

A—from 1882 to 1889.

Two years after G. Subramania Iyer and T. M. Vijayaraghavachariar founded *The Hindu,* in 1880, they went on to start *Swadesamitran* as a Tamil weekly. Both were managed together till 1899, when G. Subramania Iyer took over the *Swadesamitran* separately under his ownership and control. During these seventeen years *Swadesamitran* changed from a weekly, to a bi-weekly then to a tri-weekly. G. Subramania Iyer seems to have left the day-to-day running in the hands of a veteran Tamil Journalist C. V. Swaminathier—under his own general direction.

We shall first analyse both the presentation and quality of news and the content and argument of the leading articles (of a random sample of the issues)[21] and then draw conclusions about the political education attempted by *Swadesamitran.* The total space of the paper, was four pages of tabloid size (17" x 11½") with 4 columns per

page till 1892, when the format changed to 3 columns per page in 1894 with eight pages, and in 1899 before it became a daily it changed over to full demy size (21" x 14½" per page) with 6 columns per page and an average of 6 pages per issue. Only a part of this increased space was devoted to news and leading articles while the rest was taken up by advertisements.

The relative space devoted to advertisements during this period averages 50% ; it was nearer 25% up to 1887 ; from then up to 1898 it was nearer 50%, while in 1899, it was nearer 75%. It is however, difficult to draw definite conclusions from these figures ; for one thing, the advertisement rates were ridiculously low. (They were Rs. 30 per column for a whole month after 1900 and probably less in the earlier period we deal with). Even with the extremely low production costs of those days, it is difficult to see how the advertisement revenues could have covered a substantial part of the costs. All that we can infer is that the editor did not disdain advertisements and probably entertained as much of them as he could gather—to get as much advertisement revenue—as he could. He probably considered it not only as a legitimate source of earning but also as part of trade news—and a service to his readers ; and it also reduced reliance on subsidies from parties, institutions or private persons.[22]

Of the rest of the space given to news, letters and leading articles, nearly half was occupied by the last and a significant part by the second. Foreign news got very little space mainly because there was no agency through which it was available cheaply and also because there was not much interest in it. All of the foreign news and most of the all-India news was simply " lifted " from the morning's English paper.[23]

Lack of foreign news, could have been a blessing in disguise if local news and Indian news could have been ferreted out. *Swadesamitran* was from its start noted for its good coverage of local Tamilnad news through its voluntary and

part-time correspondents who supplied news of their area to oblige the editor and to get a place in the sun for their little town. The editor too encouraged readers in every issue to write to the editor about their local news and local grievances and warned them simultaneously about the need for truth and accuracy. Local news was gathered too from local weekly news sheets from small towns.[24] But all told, by modern standards the coverage was not outstanding partly because of the inexperience of a pioneering venture in spotting news and building up reader interest. No use was made of the modern aids to make news interesting such as pictures, or head lines—even head lines in a single column. The news was presented under a heading of slightly thicker type, and was not broken up by subheads nor highlighted with boxes and cross-head lines. All this was not probably missed in those days when in many villages the paper was read aloud by the village Karnam, headman or an elder to a large audience of listeners.

But wide use was made of the institution of letters to the editor. Some of them deal with local events of importance and were printed often directly as news. There were others which dealt with local grievances, police outrages and official misdeeds—letters which the editor welcomed and encouraged. The third variety of letters consist of long discussions on general subjects, of which there were only too many. Letters on women's education, Hindu religious reform and inter-marriage among Brahmins—dealing with no specific instances but long-winded and homiletic appeared all too often.

The leading article dominated the editorial space as it then did in the English press too. During this period, Subramania Iyer was busy with his work on '*The Hindu*' as well, but spervised the general editorial policy of *Mitran* suggesting or approving most of the leading articles. Out of the random sample of more than forty leading articles and notes about twenty-eight deal with matters relating to the Madras Presidency and barely eight with either e.g., all India politics

or foreign news.[25] If the editor was modest enough to express his considered views mostly on subjects he could know intimately of, he was also courageous enough to deal with local politics and grievances—stirring up vested interests against him—instead of taking refuge in subjects of international interest. These leading articles also illustrate the assumptions and the methods of the political education he set out to impart. Many of these dealt with cases of official misbehaviour and the grievances of ryots. The first editorial of the 9th of June 1890, is a typical example. Starting with a general attack on increasing police atrocities—and attributing them to low-paid ignorant subordinates and racially arrogant superiors, it goes on to dilate on the most recent instance in Punjab where an official order to make note of the suspects in a case, was carried out with such deliberate brutality that many respectable gentlemen and even ladies were publicly interrogated. It is noted that *The Tribune's* strong leading article led to an enquiry by Mr. Lyall who ultimately congratulated the paper on its bold exposure. Iyer stresses the obvious inference, namely, the efficacy of press exposure in a leading article of May 20th, 1892, captioned "Writing to the Press never goes in vain." He deals at length with the four dry districts in North Madras which were reported as not famine-struck by the Governor of Madras and how the truth came out by press exposure and Lord Wenlock was hauled over the coals by Parliament. Reference is also made to another instance of the Tashildar of Tiruvellore taluk collecting *kist* in spite of near famine conditions and how *Swadesamitran's* exposure led to an enquiry by the Collector who supported the Tashildar. In a succeeding editorial note, he refers to the secrecy of the enquiry and gross neglect of the ryots, admonishes the people who did not participate in the enquiry or write to the press. An earlier editorial note on *Jamabandhis*[26] in the issue of 11th July, 1890—refers to the tirade carried against official *Jamabandhis* by *Swadesamitran* and the virtual acceptance of the argument by Ragunatha Rao, the Revenue Board Member. In many other leading articles and notes *Swadesamitran* argued that

'Jamabandhi' itself was unnecessary if there was normal and efficient revenue administration.

Police misbehaviour always brought forth some very fierce criticism from the editor of *Mitran.* The second leading article (of March 24th of 1896)—deals with the inadequacy of one-man enquiries into Police misbehaviour—in connection with a riot of Moplahs in Malabar which was put down with much cruelty and enquired into by the local Collector Winterbotham. The Editor returns to the subject in the leading article (of July 14th, 1899) under the caption "Praising the Police," and joins issue with Winterbotham who refuted Raghunatha Rao's complaints against the Police, and went out of his way to praise the Police. The article cites many decisions of Judge Davis in Tanjore, dismissing most cases of murder as police concoctions and also Winterbotham's own earlier dismissals of many Police cases. It goes on to say that police excesses would increase if magistrates praise them and that many stationary Magistrates promoted through passing departmental examinations could easily succumb to police blandishments.

Other local issues which figure much in *Swadesamitran* are the affairs of the Madras Corporation, and other municipalities, local industries, the Madras University and appointments to the Provincial Services. Many leading articles deal in detail with the expenditure of the Madras Corporation, point out possible savings and suggest new measures. The development of local industries on a Co-operative or a Limited Company basis is another recurrent theme. The promotion of obedient subordinates to responsible posts was also strongly opposed in other articles and competitive selection is advocated in the appointment of Deputy Collectors.

Comment on foreign Affairs was generally related to India. Discussion of Indian affairs in Britain and propaganda for the Indian cause were among those subjects. The leading article of September 26th, 1893 discusses the debate in Parliament on the Indian Budget, and the demand for a Royal Commission by Bailey and concludes on a note of

subdued optimism about the growing pro-Indian feeling in Britain. Another leading article (in the September 15th issue of 1888) deals with the Indian Agency in London and praises the work done by the Editor of the *Madras Times*, Sir William Digby. The advocacy of the Indian cause by William Bradlaugh and Hume is gratefully referred to. In other articles, the "wasteful" border wars indulged in by the Government of India are the subject of strong criticism. The leading article of September 13th of 1895, deals with the publication of 'Chitral Papers' and the disclosure of large waste of money on border wars. The leading articles of Jan. 10th, 1896 comes back to the subject with a sly note on the debacle of English Arms in Armenia against Turkey, and a pointed question about Russian designs on India.

Social reform was discussed often in general terms as well as in regard to particular instances. The caustic leading article in the February 8th of 1899, deals with the Mahant of Thirupati under the caption "The rascality of the Thirupati Mahant." The Mahant, reported to have seduced the wife of Sreenivasulu Naidu, was the respondent in a case which was compounded later and, the leading article demands his replacement; another leading article pours ridicule on Sub-Judge Ramaswamy Iyengar, 60 years old, marrying a 13 year old girl. Iyer was certainly not afraid of libel actions!

To complete the picture of Tamil political journalism a few words have to be said about some other journals with some interest in politics. The two older weekly news sheets *Dina Varthamani* and *Vetty Codyone* seemed to have slowly lost circulation[27]—though it is likely that they exercised some influence among Tamil Christian readers directly and even more indirectly through reprinted extracts in Christian religious periodicals such as *Sathya Thuthan* (Monthly, circulation 5500) and *Porsattam* (fortnightly, circulation 2750) with large circulations and many others with smaller circulations.[28] Such influence (pro-British) on the Chris-

tian community with the educational and social awareness of a young small cohesive minority—might have been an important factor under more democratic conditions but it is rather doubtful if the ruling bureaucracy was more than mildly thankful for it.

A large number of general periodicals are listed by the Registrar but few of them can be called even mildly interested in politics and many of them probably made irregular appearances.[29] A journal (referred to mistakenly, I believe, as a daily) called *Pandyanesan* of Madura was even attributed a circulation of 5000 in 1890—though it probably made a lightning appearance to die an early death. Other general periodicals such as *Hindu Desabhimani, Kalaganithan, Dinodaya Vartamani, Dravida Vartamani, Maha Vigada Thuthan, Lokopakari, Lokabandu* and *Janopakari,* published political articles from time to time.

There seem to have been a number of local news-sheets too (as listed in the Administration Reports). They had a potential advantage in their relative freedom from the competition of metropolitan dailies, and an interesting task in covering local news and cleansing local Augean stables. In fact, however, they appeared irregularly and led a precarious life without much local readership to sustain. Extracts from some of these appearing in *Swadesamitran* suggest that their local reporting was competent. At least in one instance a local editor, who disagreed with the views of the proprietor, successfully started his own journal and earned editorial approval from *Swadesamitran.*[30]

What sort of overall political education did the Tamil public receive from *Swadesamitran* and such other journals as were interested in politics ? What effect did they have on their readers, and on the ruling bureaucracy during this period ? The answer must take into account their circulations, the news and leading articles, the general political attitude of editors, the attitude of the ruling bureaucracy through its actions and reports and any felt response from the reading public. It can only be an inaccurate answer, since

the public and official mind were exposed to a multitude of other forces too, such as the local platform and the English press; moreover, official thoughts not leading to overt action are rarely recorded.

In regard to circulation the journalistic arena of Tamilnad—was dominated by the Christian religious periodicals and a few non-political general periodicals. They usually included one or two last pages on current news—usually with no comment or an expression of loyalty to the British Raj.[31] Their total effect was to keep large sections of the reading public safe from the Raj. Thus, 'political education' was attempted directly only by *Swadesamitran* through presenting the available foreign and local news without any modern eye-catching aids and through the direct detailed discussion of the leading article. Subtlety as well as showmanship were both shunned in preference to sincere argument and exhortation. The question is thus reduced to what effect *Swadesamitran's* education had on readers, events and the ruling bureaucracy, against a backdrop of general indifference by the rest of the press.

If circulation were to be the yardstick, the showing is rather poor, for it never exceeded a thousand till 1900 (according to the Government Administration Reports). But each copy was read at least by ten persons or probably more, when it was read aloud in the village *chavadi* to a group of listeners, and an effective circulation of 20,000 might be claimed. The readers (and listeners) were mostly composed of the village *mirasdars* middle class school teachers and small merchants, and less than ten per cent of the total circulation was in the city of Madras itself (which is the pattern even to-day). The readership thus made up of the conservative lower middle class outside the capital, rarely expressed itself politically. There was no perceptible effect on them but the slow cumulative effect on a class untouched by the English press was probably quite deep—even if it could not be measured in terms of its concrete political activity.

The Mardas Government Administration Reports show no signs of the bureaucrats getting worried about these early attempts at political journalism.[32] They were aware of it through their press extracts and thankful too as a non-responsible but responsive bureauracy for these insights into public opinion and editorial policy.[33] There were instances (according to the internal evidence in *Swadesamitran's* leading articles) when criticism of official deeds led to some remedial action; probably there were other instances in which the possibility of criticism forestalled misbehaviour. The relief was often dramatic when the criticism was directed against a patriotic local notable like the *Sethupathi.*[34] All in all *Swadesamitran* and Tamilnad had to wait for several years before press publicity and criticism were matched by measurable popular and official reaction.

B.—1899 to 1908.

The year 1908, forms a clear watershed in the long period from 1899 to 1916. The first half from 1899 to 1908 witnessed a sudden increase in the tempo and texture of political activity—with the rise of Swadeshism, boycott and terrorism in Bengal, revolutionarism in Punjab and Tilakian mass politics in Bombay—followed by government repression and consequent frustration. The second half started with the Government's stringent measures but ended with the emergency of constitutional radicalism led by Messrs. Besant and Tilak.

Journalistically the most important event of the 1899—1908 period was the conversion of *Swadesamitran* from a tri-weekly into a daily by the middle of 1899. The change was carefully prepared for; announcements were made in the early months of the year to the effect that the daily would contain news from all sources, from Reuters and English papers and about all the events in Tamilnad all for an annual subscription of Rs. 18 *i.e.*, more cheaply than the English dailies such as *Madras Times*, *The Hindu* or the *Madras Mail*; and the name of the editor was prominently mentioned partly to indicate his assumption of *de facto*

editorship and partly to attract circulation thereby. The first Tamil daily had to face all the difficulties of a pioneering venture and friends pointed out that it was not an economically sound proposition, as the number of politically conscious people was small and those who would buy a Tamil daily instead of an English one was even smaller. Iyer was probably quite aware of S. N. Banerjee's qualms about converting his weekly *Bengalee* into a daily in 1879[35] and of the peculiar difficulties of an Indian language daily reaching its slow-moving country clientele through slow trains letting "hot news" get cold, though fortunately, there was no faster news-dispersing agency like the wireless to compete with. Iyer did not probably indulge in all this nice balancing of pros and cons; for him the compelling reasons was his personal zeal to play a leading part in public affairs, and he hoped to regain his opportunity to do so after leaving *The Hindu*, through his new Tamil daily.[36] He never seriously regretted the financial embarrassments that harassed him for years thereafter but revelled in opening for himself new horizons—that proved broader than he hoped for.

The size of the paper was increased in 1899, even as a tri-weekly to the modern demy page size (with 6 columns). The number of pages, varied from four to six; when there were four pages, the first and the last contained advertisements, and when there were six pages—the first, fourth, fifth and sixth pages contained advertisements; and thus the additional pages were evidently used to accommodate advertisements. But there is little reason to assume that this indicated overwhelming prosperity, for the rates during the period were ridiculously low (an average Rs. 30|- per column for a whole month) even for the then standard of wages, costs and prices. Iyer probably considered them no more than as a legitimate source of revenue, (however small) and a service to his country readers.

The total editorial space was on an average 11 columns per day rarely going up to 16. The increase in news-space was small because the paper could not afford expensive news

services; news of the country area—came from original correspondents; most of the All-India news and foreign news was taken from the English morning papers; and 11 columns were as much as any editorial staff could fill up in those days. Foreign news still continued to be sparse and rarely exceeded two columns even during the ten days of the Russo-Japanese war in 1904. There was a lack of not only news-services but also the serving up of news with proper additions and explanations. The main bulk of editorial space was occupied by Indian news—both of Tamilnad and the rest of India. This was an important change—compared to the earlier period—when the leaders and news columns were often equal in length.[37] *Swadesamitran* was becoming a 'newspaper' partly due to the deliberate policy pursued by the editor to print more news and partly due to the changing times with stirring events happening in partitioned Bengal, Tilak's Bombay and in the southern end of Tamilnad in Tuticorin and, though the news was printed as of old without any display, headlines and boxes, its intrinsic interest was obvious. On the other hand there was considerable decrease in the space devoted to 'letters to the editor'; the common letters on general subjects were probably 'spiked' to provide more space for news; the letters probably got shorter and more to the point; and letters on official misdeeds of the older days probably came to be less common.

The straight-from-the-shoulder leading article was as usual, the chief medium through which the editor of *Swadesamitran* conducted 'political education.' The number of leading articles dealing with purely local events decreased mainly because of the growing interest in All-India politics but they performed the function of exposing official misdeeds. A fighting editorial (5th September, 1907) entitled "Will a lesson be taught to Dr. Kemp" inveigles against the habit of Englishmen trying to hide each other's faults, and the damage done to faith in British justice. The leading article deplores the consequent riots and the deployment of punitive police in *Coconada*. The next leading article of

the same day criticises the judgment of Mr. Clark on schoolboys involved in riots in an exhibition. The leading article castigates him for brazenly relying on the evidence of a single Christian against all the teachers and for the severe punishment of the boys. A leading article on the affairs of the Madras Corporation (July 5th, 1902) deplores the reappointment as president for another year of Sir George Moore as an unwise choice of an old and obstinate man at Rs. 2000 instead of a new man at a mere Rs. 800. Another short editorial note (of 10th August, 1904) inveigles against the Corporation Members who elected Desikachari a retired government servant to the Legislative Council to swell the ranks of government supporters, instead of Theagaroya Chettiar. The leading article of 16th March, 1905, deplores the centralization of Lord Curzon, and approves of Mr. Sly's advice to Tanjore ryots to avoid litigation and attend to their fields. The second leading article of June 28th, 1907, criticizes the *Jamabhandi* Report for saying that there was enough rain in all districts except Tirunelveli and condemns the subordinate revenue officers who collected *kist* from ryots under conditions of scarcity. Another leading article of 13th August 1906 criticizes the appointment of the Advocate-General Wallis as High Court Judge over the head of Sankaran Nair who had twice acted on the Bench and calls for agitation by the Mahajan Sabha and the Lawyer's Associations. Among other editorials of local interest is one on Curzon's Education Committee's Report on making study of Sanskrit compulsory. A critical leading article (of September 16th, 1902) points out that even Brahmin boys found Sanksrit difficult and such knowledge cannot be improved later nor would it be of much use, with journals being conducted in Tamil and other languages.

On an All-India level, the theme of most editorials was the ruin of India's handicrafts, the grinding poverty of the villages, the deadly economic stagnation and the need for industrial regeneration.[38] The leading article of May 2nd 1902 on the Delhi Durbar Exhibition draws attention to the decline of Indian industries under British rule through

competition from manufactured articles and hopes that the exhibition would give a fillip to our handicrafts. The leader of June 23rd 1902 captioned " Wake up-your wealth is being drained "—deals with the large scale exports of raw materials from India at low prices and a note of 20th June the same year calls for more investment from Englishmen. The leader of 10th August, of the same year under the caption " Why there is no industrial development in India," attributed it to the hoarding habit and investment in land and jewels and the fear resulting from the failure of a few companies. The main leading article of 22nd September, 1905 on the newly started Indian Co-operative Industries Ltd., — calls on people of Madras to give the lie to the imputation that they are just men of words and asks them to buy up the shares quickly. Another note of 22nd May 1906 calls attention to the fact that the British-sponsored Deshi Cloth Mills has collected all its share capital and begun work for the last three months. The leading article of 14th February, 1906, on Trade Associations urges on our merchants and manufacturers the need of unity to make any substantial progress. The article of 8th September of the same year rails against the craze for low-paid Government jobs of our graduates and the arrogance of departmental heads who want Matriculates even for *Mochi's* jobs, and asks parents to educate their children for trade and commerce. In another leading article on Gaikwar Maharajah's speech on our industries (in the issue of January 12th 1907)—the export of raw materials is condemned and new manufactures possible in our country are detailed.

The grinding poverty of the Indian villages is a recurrent theme in several leading articles. The leader of 2nd May of 1900 refutes the government propaganda that the Indian peasant is prosperous by referring to his indebtedness and the fifteen famines from 1878 onwards. The leading article of July 15th returns to the same subject referring to government's tall talk about good agricultural prices and possible profits and explains how the prices could not benefit the Indian peasant without a surplus—actually selling his

yield at low prices immediately after the harvest for kist and loans. In a leading article in the issue of June 23rd, it is pointed out how the apparent prosperity of the towns is misleading as the peasants in the villages are still poor and indebted. Again, writing on famine relief (in the issue of July 3rd)—Curzon's allegation about India's lack of charity is refuted by pointing out how only a fraction of the famine-sufferers get Government relief. In a succeeding note a Grains Bank is advocated in Bengal for famine days. The leaders of 22nd July 1904 discuss how the land tax is assessed without due allowance for the ryot's expenses and how compulsory payment of taxes during bad harvests get him deep into debt.

Iyer's criticisms of indentured emigration also attributed the evil to the harassing poverty in the villages and a neglect of India's resources. The leading article (of 5th February 1907) points out how South Africa's treatment of Indians and its toleration by the Government of India—is undermining Indian loyalty while another leading article (of 30th July 1902) under the caption "Why should Indians go to foreign lands for a livelihood ?", describes the sufferings of ten lakhs of Indians overseas and suggests the development of our vast acres of fallow land and unexploited mineral resources.

Iyer charged British rule with India's economic stagnation, partly because he was closely interested in the subject throughout his public career and partly because such criticism, like criticism of bureaucratic mistakes, was easier to make within the bounds of his editorial assumptions of the 'goodness' of British rule. Iyer retained this assumption as is clear from leading articles bearing directly on the subject. The leader of 12th July, 1904, captioned "Why this suspicion of Indians ?" is the most important confession of faith during this period. It argues that one cannot throw doubt on the loyalty of Indians because a few Muslim sepoys rose against British rule in 1858. If the Government does not trust Indians with their due share in the

army or civil services, the inevitable results would be Indian mistrust. But no good can come out of an armed revolt, no Indian king can be installed nor can he defend the country against Russians or Germans. He concludes that British rule does good at least slowly but British are losing popular support through their own fault. The leader of 3rd July, 1900 agreeing with Lord Morely's observations on the great political work done by Englishmen and Scotsmen in India points out that heavy taxation and paternalism has ruined people's initiative, and also resents the imputation of disloyalty. Another note of June 10th the same year refers to Naoroji's charge that India was governed for Britain's good —and Lord Hamilton's rejoinder. The main leading article of May 22nd, 1906—under the caption "Must rule with love," returns to the same subject. Referring to the statements of the Prince of Wales and Lord Morley at Guild Hall that India must be ruled with love, the leader points out that "love" has been claimed as the basic motive by even tyrants like Lord Curson. Love included not only conferring material benefits but also respecting the ancient people of India and training them for freedom in course of time. The article concludes that British government has failed in the latter.

It is clear that Iyer's basic attitudes were changing, if somewhat slowly ; the right to criticize was now stressed as strongly as the necessity of loyalty ; and in doing this, Iyer was reflecting his own mental evolution as well as following the more radical trends in Bengal and Bombay. Bengali revivalism and patriotism had burst into flame in 1904, after the partition of Bengal as political agitation on the one hand and the *Swadeshi* movement on the other ; the fire caught on in Poona under Tilak's leadership ; and their sparks travelled to the distant South. Bepin Chandra Pal personally carried the message to Madras shaming the local Moderates with his unbridled tongue, while Tilak kindled a more active spark through Chidambaram Pillai's shipping venture in Tuticorin and the attendant political awakening. Iyer's personal reaction to this rapid pace of events was somewhat

cautious in the beginning becoming more sympathetic and even enthusiastic. But the mounting concern of the Government of India and provincial governments near the end of this period precipitated restrictive legislation and action from which dragnet Iyer did not escape without a deep scar. His arrest while on vacation in *Kutralam*, his journey to Madras and detention under deliberately humiliating conditions and the further humiliation of an apology and undertaking do desist from seditious writing constituted a traumatic experience—though *Swadesamitran* carried on without any fuss or apparent change.[39]

1908—1916.

The next period was one of slow political rebuilding; the earlier period had witnessed the fizzling out of terrorism and the fiasco of the Surat Congress; the impetus of the Bengal partition movement and the *Swadeshi* movement had nearly spent itself; the self-confidence generated by Japan's victory in 1905 had cooled down; and, in short the extremists and terrorists were retiring from the field for the time being. The new period naturally started with the Government's campaign of press restriction. In 1908, the Government of India passed THE PRESS INCITEMENT TO OFFENCES ACT and widened the scope of the Officials Secrets Act, the Public Meetings Act, the Press Act, the Sedition Law, the Explosives Act and the Seditious Meetings Act. This was followed by the more stringent Indian Press Act of 1910. At the same time the Government was also giving political concessions to the Moderates with the other hand through the Minto-Moreley Reforms scheme, *i.e.*, the Indian Councils Act of 1909, stirring new hopes in them. With extremists such as Tilak, Lajpat Rai and B. C. Pal safely out of the way, they controlled the Congress, and brought down the political tempo. The year 1908 is thus a clear watershed in the history of Indian Nationalism. The forces which started accumulating from 1904, were nearly exhausted in that year and from then on till 1916 it was a slow preparatory period of the Home rule agitation of 1917 and the Ghandhian non-cooperation of 1920.

Of the two principal political journals of this period, *Swadesamitran* and *India,* we will take up the latter first as the more unusual. After a prosecution against the nominal editor of *India* in Madras, its great editor Bharati made haste to go to Pondicherry, where it made its reappearance by October 1909.[40] The issues had an average of 10 pages crown size with the last two pages devoted to advertisements. The front page was usually devoted to a political cartoon with cartoons on other pages as well. The second, third and fourth pages were devoted to political and literary articles and letters from correspondents in London or Boston ; the fifth and sixth pages contained the leading articles and editorial notes and the other pages were devoted to news, both foreign and Indian.

Bharati was an absolute pioneer in Tamil journalism in using political cartoons ; earlier, Tamil journals like *Jana Vinodhini* reproduced cartoons from English journals ; but Bharati's were original as well as Indian. They were always provocative, humorous and hard-hitting as illustrated by the following examples. The issue of November 20th, 1909 frontpaged a cartoon on the relative harm done by the bomb-thrower and the British bureaucrat, both being weighed in the balance with the latter shown as the greater evil. Another cartoon in the same issue depicted the *Deepavali Devi* giving gifts to Indians in *Swadeshi,* a third on the Minto-Moreley Reforms showed the Lords boring the mountain to bring out a mouse ; a fourth was on the Deepavali bath, a fifth was of *Bharata Devi* as *Mahalakshmi* showering wealth on India ; a sixth pictured *Bharata Devi* being worshipped by the Goddess of *Deepavali,* and a seventh portrayed Lord *Krishna* telling Indians (in the form of *Arjuna*) to do their duty to get *Swaraj.* The issue of November 27th, showed a front-page cartoon on the Reforms—an elephant with its excreta with a caption that what the elephant brought forth was not a young one but excreta ; and another cartoon in the same issue portrayed Rangachari speaking in English to an audience of Tamils who fall asleep. The frontpage cartoon of December 4th, re-

presented the Indian Nationalists as lightning conductors taking the brunt of official oppression ; there was another of the *Vedas* of *Swadeshism ;* another on unity representing Lord *Shanmukha* with his six heads as the six provinces of India, a fourth representing *Gaekwar* as the gardener of *Swadeshi ;* and a fifth cartoon portraying the Moderate S. N. Banerjee as unwilling to bandage his eyes. The next issue displayed a cartoon on the Lahore Congress, with the Moderates ranged against the Extremists ; a second on the national flag ; a third showing Ghandi as the cow which kept its promise and surrendered itself to the South African tiger ; and a fourth of *Nandanar* in *Chidambaram.*

The foregoing account shows how widely Bharati used cartoons, with at least three in each issue and even seven in some ; the cartoons are not legally offensive and there is no malice in their ridicule of Lord Morely, the Moderates and the British bureaucrats, and there is a strong flavour of religious and epical lore and an undercurrent of emotional nationalism—witness the veneration of India as the *Bharata Mata,* as the *Bharata Devi,* and the scenes from *Gita.* This is hardly surprising as Baharati took his emotional nationalism from B. C. Pal and his political accent to the *Gita* from Tilak.

Since *India* was not a mere news weekly, news as such did not figure prominently in its pages. About three pages were devoted to news items while another might contain a letter from a London or Boston correspondent. The news items headed by small captions were liberally mixed with comment. The fare was varied and included foreign news evidently culled from other English dailies and *Swadesamitran.*

Its special features were its articles and notes in the first five or six pages. *India* was deliberately propagandist and the articles aimed to convert ' lethargist ' Tamils to the cult of nationalism. While there were a few non-political articles such as one on *Buddha's* relics (December 11th) or Halley's Comet, the majority were predominantly political. They were full of fervant emotional nationalism of the

Bengali type; India was the *Bharat Mata* and patriotism was a religious duty, the worship of the Mother Goddess. Typical examples were the article on *Deepavali* as a national liberation day from the forces of evil (November 20th, 1909) and the new *Karthikai* festival as a festival of unity (December 4th 1909) or the leading articles in three successive issues in November and December 1909 on the triple concepts of fraternity, equality and liberty. The issues of February 1910 are important to us for their sustained criticism of the Press Act to be enacted and the 19th February issue summed it up with a cartoon on the Press Act depicting it as trying to quell the fire with a fan.

It is important to summarize these notes and editorials since the only other Tamil political journal *Swadesamitran* adopted a less critical attitude. In the leading article of February 8th, *India* joins issue with *Swadesamitran* for its editorial of 3rd February regarding the proposed legislation. The leading article referred to classified newspapers as British-owned English papers, Indian-owned English papers and Indian-owned vernacular newspapers. About the last *Swadesamitran* said:

> "Most of those who conduct these are men without much prestige or education. The readers are also the common people ignorant of English. The papers are shortlived and those who conduct the papers, do not have much influence, or education, and are unable to express their views with courtesy and moderation. They use rough and provocative language which the simple folk read with pleasure."

India retorted.

> "*Swadesamitran* has forgotten that it is also a Vernacular newspaper. The Government prosecuted it for seditious writings and collected security from its editor G. Subramanya Iyer, who is learned in politics through study and experience. Is Iyer without experience of the world or are his readers so simple or did he propagate falsehood? The only Tamil daily has also now become the advocate of British Government and the friend of

the English newspapers! It has toned down even its moderate policy to play second fiddle to the Government."

India also suggests that the editorial might be Government-inspired since details of the Bill not yet published are discussed in *Swadesamitran.* The next issue of February 12th dealt with the Act in all its aspects. The notes pointed out that the Act was harmful to the Government and the people and that the bureaucracy was always the enemy of the Press as Lord Bentinck admitted in 1806. The note quoted at length from *Rajah Ram Mohan Roy's* appeal against the Adam regulations of his time. Another note on the speech of Sir Herbert Risely referred to his quoting criticisms of the Government from a number of papers. These were not lies and evidently the Government wanted to label those who tell the truth as seditionists, and expected the papers to tell them all is well. A full page editorial then went on to reveal that the Act was not aimed at the Anglo-Indian Papers propagating race enmity. There was further criticism on other pages and the debate on the Bill was summarized, commending Malavya and Bose and condemning the Moderates who supported it.

Simultaneously with his opposition to the Press Act Bharati started expanding his activities. He seems to have started a daily, *Vijaya* extracts from which appear in India, but how or how long this daily lived, we do not know. He also announced a new Tamil paper *Karmayogin* and a pictorial journal *Chitravali.* The latter was probably never started, while *Karmayogin* lived a short life. Early in 1910, Bharati proposed to change over *India* to a tri-weekly on getting a minimum of 1000 subscribers in advance. All these ambitious schemes came to nothing as *India* was already falling on evil days. The Madras Government banned its entry into British India and shortly after the imposition of the ban, *India* stopped publication.

What was *India's* contribution to the political education of Tamilnad? It probably influenced the minds at least of 50,000.[41] This influence assumed no perceptible

form since it did not ventilate local grievances which could have been remedied by the Government. Its true effect was a long-term one of training a core of young and middle-aged readers to take a strong nationalist attitude to politics from among whom came the campaigners for Home Rule in 1917, the non-cooperators of 1920 and some editors of nationalist periodicals.

That old political educator of Tamilnad *Swadesamitran* was undergoing some changes too. The same two-to-four columns were devoted to leading articles, but the total editorial space increased from twelve to more than twenty columns mainly because of the greater availability of news both Indian and foreign. There was less need too to use the leading article as the chief educative medium for a more mature readership. But it would be reasonable to assume that the expanding readership of the middle class still looked up to their leading article for political guidance.

The increased space was apportioned as before, over half for advertisement—warranting the conclusion that *Swadesamitran* was more in demand as an advertising medium. There were significant changes too in the distribution of news space ;[42] foreign news, which usually occupied an insignificant place spurted into prominence with the first World War, occupying 10 to 16 columns. But this was toned down in 1915 and 1916, due partly to flagging interest as the war settled down to a cold watching across the trenches and partly due to imposition of censorship. Besides the increase in news it was better classified too after 1915, as local or All-India News, city news, provincial news and court news.

But a more important innovation was the art of giving head lines—introduced with the beginning of the first World War. Two column headlines made their appearance in 1914 and these were six or seven lines deep, all under a common caption 'War in Europe' with the following lines giving the gist of the important events. In spite of this monotony, however, the headlines served their main purpose of drawing

attention to items of news appearing below and they had the negative virtue of being comparatively impartial. The headline had come to stay and was to be used with more refinement and effectiveness in the twenties and thirties during Gandhiji's Satyagraha campaigns.

The leading articles of this period up to 1913, dealt with nearly the same old subjects ;[43] the majority were concerned with Indian themes and among them the emphasis was still on developing Indian trade and industry, on the folly of investing in land, on *Swadeshi* and protective duties on foreign imports. The editorial was still an educative weapon and not infrequently was a general exegesis on *Swadeshi* or Indian industry without any specific reference to a contemporary event. As in earlier days it employed generously argument, exhortation, warning and reiteration in addition to presenting facts. The general attitude to British rule was still one of cooperation with criticism of particular lapses. The general policy of constitutional agitation for Dominion Status was toned down by a more co-operative and less critical attitude towards the bureaucracy partly owing to Iyer's traumatic experience in 1908 and partly to his increasing suspicion ' reckless ' agitation.

The editorials of 1914, dealt mostly with war topics. They are usually summaries of news with explanations for the lay Tamil reader. One leading article dealt with the arrival of British troops in France, commending it as a successful secret operation, another with the German advance in Belgium as a foolish provocation of Britain, and a third on the possibility of starting Indian industries to make up for declining imports. But by 1915 and definitely by 1916 the war had lost its topical interest and attention moved back to old favourites such as education through the mother tongue, local self-government, Assembly elections and the Reform proposals.

Some mention must be made of a few other journals which indirectly contributed to political education. The journal *Gnana Bhanu* started in 1911 by *Subrahmanya*

Siva—who was sentenced along with *V. O. Chidambaram Pillai* as a political agitator—was mainly religious and cultural but its continuous harking back to India's great past was indeed part of Hindu revivalism. So was another journal *Lokopakari* of Nelliappar, which devoted much space to the Indian and in particular Tamil heritage. *Purnachandrodayam* of Madura—a journal of the Theosophical Society too was full of India's spiritual achievements. This revivalism was however much less emotional in Tamilnad than in Bengal though it had the same patriotic overtones.

Another significant feature of the period was the launching of communal journals like *Bhuloka Vyasan* (Scheduled castes) *Vaikhanasan* (Vaishnavite sect), *Viswakarman* and *Viswakarma Kulopakari* (for wood and metal workers), containing articles on the consolidation of their caste and demands for its 'recognition.' This caste-consciousness reflected and developed by these journals was the fertile ground on which the Justice Party was planted later.

The period which ushered the most stringent press restrictions ended up with new hopes which few people in 1909, could have dared to voice. In early 1909 Tamilnad's pioneering political educator Subramanya Iyer had been forced into a mood of caution and *Bharati* had been forced to seek asylum in Pondicherry for himself and his meteoric *India*. The Press Act of 1910 and attendant restrictions on press freedom put an end to *India*, made *Swadesamitran* even more cautious and generally encouraged journalistic timidity. The total number of Tamil Journals dropped considerably by 1912,[44] but the first World War changed all this almost overnight. New dailies, such as *Intraiya Seithi* were started to exploit the thirst for war news; dailies with a precarious existence such as *Hindu Nesan* gathered new circulation and new hopes; *Swadesamitran* itself spurted up in circulation to 9500 in 1914; the Government was keen to please the press to get its support for the war effort; and above all the war ushered in useful techniques in news presentation such as the head line and news classification.

The Tamil Press at last began to cause concern to the Government of Madras. It is significant that Madras was not excluded from the operation of the Press Acts of 1908 and 1910. The Administration Reports too show varying concern with the general attitude of the press; in 1908, the 'criticism' of government was not 'temperate' particularly regarding the sentences on V. O. Chidambaranar and his associates; during the next four years the press was under strict control through the Press Acts, and the Bharati's *India* had been strangled and even in 1914 and 1915, the Government was satisfied with the tone of the journals and the increase in their number—though there were seventeen occasions when security was forfeited by journals and twenty-four editors were warned. But in 1916 the Government was definitely alarmed that "the general tone of the press became much more virulent during the year and there was a marked tendency to use freer and stronger language in referring both to political and general subjects"—and attributed this to the influence of Annie Besant's *New India*. We are however closing our story just before the beginning of Besant's journal and her Home Rule movement. Till then the Government was concerned with the slow rise of Tamil political consciousness and once even panicked in the face of the dramatic outburst of patriotism in Tuticorin—but showed no alarm.

The reaction of the readers is hard to judge in the absence of any visible indicators in the period itself. The Tuticorin happenings were somewhat isolated acts of heroism due to the singlemindedness of Chidambaranar and his associates and their powerful oratory—than due to any press campaign. Rather it was their brilliant failure that probably induced Bharati to give a more permanent form to patriotic platform propaganda in the shape of his *India*. On the other hand the slow cumulative effect of the political education of the Tamil journals produced a substantial effect in the years after 1916. The almost sudden spurt of Tamil political activity from 1916 onwards in the Home Rule movement and later in Ghandhian non-cooperation

would appear less miraculous and less attributable to the magnetism of contemporary leaders if we give due credit to the labours of Tamilnad's less dramatic political educators till 1916.

A General Evaluation.

The whole long period from 1878 to 1916, forms one unit in many respects ; in the first place the period is one of gradual development—compared to the periods that followed it ; secondly, it was the period of *Swadesamitran* and G. Subramania Iyer, who dominated it and thirdly it was the period of direct political education by self-confessed political educators.

An important reason for the 'gradualness' of the Tamil press is fairly obvious. Throughout this long period, political movements which started in Bengal and Bombay produced echoes in Tamilnad. It was Bepin Chandra Pal from Bengal that disturbed the political calm of the Madras Moderates in 1908, and it was Tilak's followers in Madras that spread the gospel of *Swaraj*. The founding of the Swadeshi Steam Navigation Company by *V. O. Chidambaram Pillai* and his associates and the political activity in Tuticorin were an exception to this, but this happened at one end of Tamilnad. Not till 1916, did Tamilnad witness a change in this state of things—when Mrs. Besant made her headquarters right in Madras and started her Home Rule movement. It is not easy for the most gifted editor to stir up political interest through happenings in another part of the country. The press lives on news of events and the nearer the event the greater is the possibility of keenly interesting the reader and conversely stirring the reader to further action. This natural circular process did not start operating in Tamilnad till 1916 during which time the Tamil Press lived on 'imported' news for its political education.

What were the methods of these self-confessed public educators ? They were forthright when they preached and proclaimed their convictions and exhorted the readers to

suitable action. There was no subterfuge, no subtlety and not even the meanest refinements in doing this; *Swadesamitran* presented news, even stirring news of events in Tamilnad such as the trial of Chidambaranar or the detention of its own editor without any headlines till 1914; and even Bharati's cartoons and his patriotic notes in revivalistic guises were far from modern suggestive propaganda. But this haranguing and dull news presentation worked after a fashion—at least without express reader-resentment—mainly because (i) the lower middle-class readers had evidently enough time and patience to read the paper from the title of imprint; (ii) at least some readers were in active communication with the editor and interested in a deep personal way in their paper and (iii) haranguing was in contemporary Tamilnad the accepted method of education—adopted by religious preachers, teachers, parents and elders.

The readers whom they harangued were neither the poor illiterate masses nor the highly westernized English newspaper reading minority, but a portion of the lower middle-class consisting of small-scale landowners, merchants, school-teachers and the like—a class ambitious for its sons yet conventional in outlook, fond of the good things of life and yet hugging dearly its marginal security.[45] That doyen of Tamil journalists G. Subramania Iyer and that stormy petrel Bharati were both born into this class, knew its strength and weaknesses, loved and despised it. The former appealed essentially to its reason and its enlightened selfishness—to come out more openly with its grievances, to agitate, to participate in public activity and industrial development. Even Bharati's appeal to some self-sacrifice was not devoid of this rationalist technique—for indeed the appeal was to that long-term self-interest which was being ruined by an apparently safe immediate servility.

Over and above the basic resemblance there was an important difference of method between the two. Iyer's technique was that of the Victorian liberal—the technique of persuasion with facts and arguments. Bharati employed in

addition Hindu revivalism with the technique of auto-suggestion to a supposedly strong stout-hearted Indian with a great heritage and *ergo* greater potentialities. But at his best Bharati never overdid this—in contrast to popular misconceptions.[46] Iyer again used the spoken Tamil of the professional upper middle class—with its Brahminisms and Anglicisms, with a currency of Sanskrit and English words often badly transliterated.[47] This, let us admit, was an immense improvement on the Pulavar Tamil which could not have reached his audience at all. Iyer also inherited much from the long and altogether bad influence of English syntax on Tamil prose-writing. The influence lasted till Bharati and V. V. S. Iyer, Siva and Chidambaranar started consciously fashioning a Tamil prose style free from this legacy and real fruition came only in the next period when Thiru. Vi. Ka. entered the field with his new challenge and Varadarajulu Naidu with his colleagues started setting new standards in clarity. Bharati's writings in this period were the real starting point that inspired these later efforts.

The total showing is poor indeed to a cursory observer of these early years of Tamil political journalism ; the late and unsure beginning and the limping growth of four decades ; but this very steadiness, this very shunning of showmanship and brinkmanship have left a deep impress. It is no mean claim to say that the first Tamil daily is still alive and that the journalistic jottings of Bharati are read more avidly and widely now than by his contemporaries.

NOTES

1. This and a succeeding article are based upon research I carried out in 1955 on the history of Tamil political journalism. The research was necessarily incomplete but I have just put together my notes and ideas in this article to save some labour for other research workers. For the sake of crispness and brevity, the article makes only the minimum necessary reference to the contemporary political scene. For the same reason allied topics such as the poetic greatness of Bharati have been kept out of this account.

2 For the full text of the note see appendix J. Natarajan, *History of Indian Journalism*, Publications Divisions, Government of India, 1955.

3 Xavier S. Thani Nayagam, The first printed books in Tamil, *Tamil Culture*, Vol. VII. No. 3., pp. 288.

4 S. N. Banerjee, *A Nation in the Making*, p. 50.

5 The list is compiled from the quarterly *Report of the Registrar of books and publications*. The list was necessarily incomplete for several journals did not care to register—a practice taken note of in *The Madras Administration Report for 1875—76*. On the other hand several registered journals were published irregularly or never.

6 See footnote 5 re non-registration. *The Madras Administration Report of 1875—76*, mentioning the practice felt that it was not yet necessary to enforce the penal provisions—presumably because non-registration was attributed to ignorance rather than to organised conspiracy.

7 Italics mine. The English translation is a near-literal one of the cumbrous anglicised Tamil writing of this period.

8 Quoted in a contemporary Christian Missionary Journal *Narpotham*. Obviously *Desopakari* was not registered : see footnote 2.

9 Access to the Madras Government's extracts from local Press comments was difficult at the time of my research.

10 See footnote 2.

11. The accounts in this and the subsequent paragraph are based on the first few chapters of *The Indian Press* by Margarita Barns.

12 This journal is referred to by J. Natarajan, op. cit., and it seems to have lived on almost into 1858, when its editor's request for copies of government circulars was granted—Vide Madras Record Office, Public Department 1858, Vol. III, nos. 42 and 130.

13 *The Madras Government Administration Report for 1856—57* says in its section on Public Instruction :

> The publication of the weekly vernacular newspaper edited by the Professor of Vernacular Literature in the Presidency College of which mention was made in my last Report has been continued with considerable success. It is now published both in Tamil and Telugu and the circulation amounts to 1000 copies. The editor states that the extent to which the paper is read and its contents made known is but inadequately represented by the number of subscribers. In some instances one paper circulates through a whole village, in others it is read in the public School, and by some of the missionary subscribers it is read weekly in the open bazaar. Its articles are strictly secular, its design being as before stated, to furnish what may be regarded as news of the day, and such general information on useful subjects as may instruct the reader whatever may be his religious views. One page a week has for some time past been set apart to the publication of matters of an exclusively educational

character such as rules for the management of vernacular schools, notes of the lessons given by the Principal of the Normal School etc. Arrangements have been made by the editor for increasing the size of the paper so as to admit of more space being given to articles containing useful information on natural history, the physical sciences, etc. It is also proposed to publish a Canarese and eventually it is hoped a Malayalam version.

The Report of 1857—58 returns to the same subject in paragraph 86 and says, "The vernacular newspaper of which mention was made in the last report and which is edited by the Professor of Vernacular literature in Presidency College continues to be a useful organ of information among the native community." In 1874, the Government seriously considered reducing the subsidy from Rs. 200|- to a hundred but finally it was decided not to reduce it till September 1875. In November 1875 the Press was bought by the Government and Rev. Percival was granted a gratuity of Rs. 1,500|-. The paper was published by its new owner for several years till the turn of the century and died a slow death early in the century.

14 J. Natarajan, op. cit., p. 64.

15 Such a phase came decades later when Arumuga Navalar from Jaffna, Ceylon started his polemics with Christian missionaries both in Ceylon and Tamilnad.

16 Kurumalai Sundaram Pillai, *Life of G. Subramania Iyer* (in Tamil), now almost unobtainable except for odd copies with Iyer's family or the *Swadesamitran* library.

17 Hayavadana Rao, *Life of G. Subramania Iyer*, Madras, 1912 (obtainable at the library of *The Hindu*, Madras).

18 J. Natarajan, op. cit., p. 98.

19 *Swadesamitran* was the only regular Tamil daily during this long period but there were short-lived Tamil dailies such as *Hindu Nesan*, which became a daily about 1912 and *Intraiya Seithi* which had a brief existence during the first few months of the first World War. Hence Iyer's dominance was real and undisputed. Even strong critics of his moderation such as Subramanya Bharati who thrilled Tamil readers for a brief two years with his *India* were his close personal friends and admirers of his dedication to public service.

20 J. Natarajan, op. cit., p. 111. Regarding his emulation of Sisir Kumar Ghosh of *Amrit Bazaar Patrika*, B. G. Tilak said—

I may further tell you that when we started our paper in vernacular, we tried to follow the editor of the *Amrit Bazaar Patrika*. That was a time when one had to teach the people how to criticize the bureaucracy and, at the same time keep onself safe, bodily at least, if not pecuniarily. That was the idea fully developed by Sisir Kumar in those days of journalism.

But both Sisir Kumar and Tilak did suffer from imprisonment and demands for security for their press, while Iyer managed his paper on an even keel throughout his ownership.

21 Random samples of issues were analysed from 1887—1899 on the basis of two issues for each year up to 1898, when it was a bi-weekly and three issues for 1899. The analysis embraced (1) a general space analysis of the proportion of space alloted to different items such as advertisements, news local and foreign, letters and leading articles and (2) a closer analysis of each item, particularly the leading articles, letters and news. The space analysis table for this period is given below. The number of leading articles analysed and specific references to most of them are included in the text.

SWADESAMITRAN—SPACE ANALYSIS BY COLUMNS 1887-99

Year	Total number of columns	Advertisement	Total Editorial Space	News	Letters	Leading articles	Miscellaneous
1887	32 (each issue, 4 pages of 4 columns each)	9·0	23·0	8·0	11·5	3·5	nil
1888	32	11·25	20·75	7·25	5·5	5·25	2·75
1889	32	13·5	18·5	4·0	4·5	5·5	4·5
1890	32	13·0	19·0	8·0	5·25	5·75	nil
1891	32	16·5	15·5	6·0	4·75	4·75	nil
1892	32	14·5	17·5	8·75	2·0	6·75	nil
1893	32	16·5	15·5	6·0	3·75	5·75	nil
1894	—	Issues not available	—	—	—	—	—
1895	48 (each issue 8 pages of 3 columns each)	22·5	25·5	8·25	7·5	7·75	2
1896	48	23·25	24·75	8·25	7·75	7·75	1
1897	—	Issues not available	—	—	—	—	—
1898	—	" "	—	—	—	—	—
1899	96	61·0	35·0	18·5	3	13·5	nil
TOTAL	416	201·0	215·0	83·0	52·5	66·25	10·25
Percentage of total space	100	48·8	51·2	20·0	12·3	15·9	0·3

22 (Dina Varthamani was subsidized by the Government of Madras, see footnote 13.) In 1911, G. K. Gokhale opposed a proposal by the Government of India to grant a subsidy of Rs. 65,000 to Narendranath Sen to help him start an Indian language paper, Vide *Speeqhes of G. K. Gokhale*, G. A. Natesan, Madras, 3rd ed., pp. 425-29. Charges of receiving government subsidy have been levelled against practically all newspapers in Madras both English and Tamil. It is very difficult to draw definite conclusions from the hearsay evidence I have come across, though the possibility cannot be ruled out in some cases.

The internal evidence in *Swadesamitran* and the balance of my hearsay evidence together point to its comparative freedom from government and party subsidies. Donations from munificent patrons were however received without any political strings.

23 Much information regarding the daily conduct of *Swadesamitran* was derived from Mr. S Viswanathier, son of G. Subramania Iyer and M. S Subramania Iyer, a close colleague.

24 E.g. a vivid report of a dacoity on the party of a Revenue Board memler from *Sujana ManoRanJani* or Tirunelveli.

25 See footnote 21 re: random sampling. Twentyone daily issues were analysed and each of them contained at least two leading articles.

26 *Jamabandhi* meant the visit of a Revenue Officer, *i.e.*, Tashildar or Deputy Collector to a village during his tours. The ostensible purpose was to inspect and promote the collection of *Kist* *i e.*, land revenue and to enquire into the villagers' grievances. In fact the massing together of local officialdom was used to strike fear and respect for the bureaucracy.

27 They are not mentioned at all in Madras Government Administration Reports of periodicals having a circulation above 500.

28 The circulation figures vary considerably in their reliability since the Registrar's list of Books and Periodicals and the Government Administration Reports took the word of the publisher—whose figures accorded often with their hopes rather than with facts. But the high circulation figures of some missionary periodicals may be quite reliable since they were priced ridiculously low or even distributed free and the literate Christians were very community conscious.

Besides those mentioned in the text there were many other registered missionary periodicals and probably many more unregistered ones.

29 The Registrar's quarterly list itself contains evidence of irregular appearances—several periodicals listed in one quarter as current do not reappear for another quarter or two. This was also noted in the Madras Government Administration Report of 1887.

30 *Swadesamitran*. 12 September 1888. The leading article congratulates Neela Megha Achar formerly editor of *Kudanthai Mitran* for having resigned his editorship following disagreement with the proprietor and started his own *Tanjai Jana Mitran*.

31 *e.g.* The Journal *Narpotham* usually featured extracts from *Dina Varthamani* in its last two pages.

32 No mention at all is made of the Tamil press during these years,

33 Indeed, the Government's volumes of extracts from the press are the only record we have of many journals whose files have since been destroyed. The British bureaucrats were fully in touch with press opinion for what it was worth. Again as a non-responsible ruling bureaucracy, they relied heavily on these for their insights into middle class opinion—witness Robinson's views—footnote 2.

34 *Swadesamitran* 13 August 1895 and 13 September 1895. A leading article in the former issue was critical of the Sethupathi of Ramanathapuram for arranging to hand over one of his schools to Christian missionaries. A letter in the latter issue from the State Vidwan Raghaviengar tells the editor that the Sethupathi has reversed this decision.

35 S. N. Banerjee, *A Nation in the Making* p. 50.

36 K. Sundaram Pillai, *Biography of G. Subramania Iyer.*

37 The space analysis of this period is given below. In the 1878—99 period, the percentage of space occupied by news and leading articles respectively were 20 and 15.9, see footnote 21. In the 1899—1908 period it had changed to 23.5 and 8 respectively.

38 Iyer was keenly interested in India's economic development and the economic consequences of British rule—witness his special journey to London to give evidence before the Welby Commission on the Indian economy and his personal interest in floating many new Indian ventures.

39 Subramania Iyer was arrested in Kutralam and brought to Madras in a III Class Railway Carriage and charged with making seditious speeches in Tirunelveli and publishing seditious articles in *Swadesamitran*, ten articles being named. Bail was requested on the basis of ill health but was refused. The articles concerned are quite tame by standards of latter days and some of them are said to have been the work of his biographer K. Sundaram Pillai. The defence was that some of the articles were translations from English passages and secondly that the translation into English of some of the articles charged with sedition was not correct. The case however was not proceeded with. It would appear that with the influence of some famous lawyers, Iyer was released on giving an undertaking not to violate the law in his writings. Mystery surrounds the circumstances of Iyer's release and his detractors have called it an abject surrender. Looking at it from our times, one is grateful that he was released and was fit to continue his work of political education for another eight years, during which time Tamilnad might probably have gone without a daily at all if he had been incarcerated. For full details, see, *Swadesamitran* issues 22 August 1908 onwards.

40 The following account of Bharati's *India* is based on articles in P. Thooran's *Bharati Thamizh* and (probably) the only collection of the issues of *India* in the possession of Mr. R. A. Padmanabhan of Madras.

41 A circulation of five thousand has been mentioned by S. Ramanujulu Naidu in P. Thooran, *op. cit.* The effective readership of such a legendary journal could have been easily ten times the (financial circulation).

42 The space analysis for this period is given in the following table.

SWADESAMITRAN SPACE ANALYSIS FROM 1900–1908

The column spaces for each year represent the total number of columns for 6 days of the week taken at random with the help of random number tables. There was no Sunday edition till the Second World War. Generally the issues of all days of the week during this period were of equal size, four pages in most years with 6 columns to the page except in 1902 and 1906 when the issues had 6 pages.

Year	Total space in columns	Advertisement	Total Editorial matter	News Indian	News Foreign	Letters to the Editor	Leading Articles	Miscellaneous items
1900	144	79	65	35	7½	8½	10	4
1902	216	138	78	48	8	3	12	7
1904	144	79	65	23	5	12	16	9
1905	144	79	65	29½	3½	11	16	5
1906	210	148	62	35½	3	12	13½	8
1907	144	79	65	33	3	8½	15	5½
1908	144	76	68	32½	2	16	12	5½
The average % distribution for this period is approximately:								
	100	60	40	21·0	2·5	6·0	8·0	2·5

43 Fortyfive leading articles were analysed for the years 1909—13 but they are not discussed in detail since their pattern was similar to the earlier period. Of these thirteen dealt with some aspect of Indian economy, thus constituting the largest number of articles on a single subject. Eight articles dealt with foreign affairs of which four discussed Indians in South Africa. The other articles were on India-wide or local themes.

44 According to the Madras Administration Reports, the number of Journals in Tamil which was 89 in 1909, dropped to 74 in 1911 and further down to 58 in early 1914. It spurted up to 117 later that year on to 212 in 1915 and dropped down again.

45 Iyer's 'contempt' for the Tamil middle class has to be inferred from his haranguing style and his very concept of public education. Bharati's was open for all to see. We need only refer to his song *Nenchu Porukkuthillaye, Intha nilai ketta manitharai ninainthu vittal.*

46 Notwithstanding Bharati's fervent revivalism there was an unmistakable note of ethical and practical moderation particularly in Bharati's prose. Contrast his fiery poem on the Russian revolution along with his merciless criticism of Lenin's arguments for unscrupulous violence in *Swadesamitran* and contrast with his passionate defence of press freedom in 1910 a later article on the need for gradual development (*The Hindu Weekly Review,* 10 Dec., 1962).

47 Iyer was the victim of a crippling tradition; the Tamil prose of the Pulavar was, if unintelligible at least genuinely Tamil; but it began to be replaced by the spoken language of the new middle class; this language was soon laden with English words displacing intelligible Tamil words in currency and furthermore its natural syntax too was twisted to imitate the Victorian English sentence. It was not long before Tamil scholars such as Siva and Chidambaranar poured out ridicule on *Swadesamitran* Tamil.

In contrast to this development, Ananda rangam Pillai's diary, (18th century) displays a most modern, natural and perfected style—and owes probably something to French influence. It is interesting to speculate how many wasted decades might have been avoided if his style had been emulated.

SWADESAMITRAN SPACE ANALYSIS 1909–1916

The column spaces for each year represent the total number of columns for 6 days of the week

Year	Total	Advertise-ment	Total Editorial matter	News South Indian	News All Indian	News Foreign	Letters to the Editor	Leading Articles	Miscellaneous
1909	200	123½	76½	21	12	4	20½	16	3
1910	128	69	59	8	28½	3½	3½	9	6½
1911	112	68	44	7½	10	6½	9	11	—
1912	200	121	79	2	32½	11½	14½	13	5½
1913	160	87	73	4	33½	8	12	9	6½
1914	128	61	67	—	21½	36½	—	9	—
1915	136	60	76	18½	15	24½	5	8	5
1916	394	248½	145½	17½	37½	33½	20½	14	22½
The average % distribution from 1909 to 1913 is (approx)									
	100	58·5	41·5	5·3	14·5	4·2	7·4	7·3	2·8
The average % distribution for 1914, 1915 and 1916 is (approx)									
	100	56·00	44 00	5·5	11·0	14·0	4·0	5·5	4·0

The Tamil Book of Proverbs:

H. S. DAVID

In my first article on the Book of Proverbs, I have dealt with its peculiar diction and started on the second section: *the internal evidence of certain of its stanzas, the persons mentioned.* Kindly look up pages 176 to 178: therein we have met the following personages:—

1. Pāri and Pēkan̲, pages 176 to 177 of Vol. IX, 2 of "Tamil Culture".

2. The Cōḻa king, Karikālan̲, 177 to 178. Now we shall have introduced to us rapidly a few more interesting historical or legendary personages, starting with 3. *The Pāṇṭiyan king* mentioned at Pal. 76:—

எனக்குத் தகவன்றால் என்பதே நோக்கித்
தனக்குக் கரியாவான் தானாய்த் தவற்றை
நினைத்துத்தன் கைகுறைத்தான் தென்னவனும் ....

Readers of the seventh century work, Ir̲aiyan̲ār Akapporuḷ,[1] reputed to have been edited by

This article is a continuation of the one that appeared, with the same title, in April-June, 1961, in "Tamil Culture", Vol. IX 2, pages 151 to 180. I would ask its readers in this connexion to turn to page 172 afore-mentioned, and at the beginning of the penultimate line change 64 into 94b "moliyarka". This arose as my typist's error. As soon as I detected it, I wrote to the Editor: but meanwhile the article was being printed or had just been. These two articles (and future ones) form a series with "the Earliest Tamil Poems Extant", Vol. IV, No. 1, pages 90 to 98 and "the Kuruntokai Anthology", Vol. VII, No. 4, pages 323 to 349. In this series I am endeavouring to study critically a few, if not all, of the 36 ancient classics, both major and minor, in Tamil மேற் கணக்கு and கீழ்க் கணக்கு, 18 in each group. The book we are investigating belongs to the latter.

[1] Ir̲aiyan̲ār akapporuḷ, Madras, 1916, edited by Rāo Bahadūr S. Bhavānantampiḷḷai, F.R.H.S., M.R.A.S. (London), the 1st. Sūtra, page 7:—

Kaṇakkāyaṉār's son, named Nakkīraṉār, would have made themselves familiar with another "Kīraṉ", or "Kīrantai", said to be a poet of the Middle "Caṅkam". Cf. Madras Lexicon, page 946. The king of Madurai, *or* Kūṭal, as it was then called,[2] seems to have been involved in some shady transaction either with the poet's contemporaries *or* with the poet's wife, which would have been a worse offence.

This is what the commentary states: தவறுவது கதவையிடித்த குற்றம். அஃதாவது, கீரந்தையின் ஐயம் நீங்கு தற்போருட்டு ஒவ்வோரு வீடுகளின் கதவினையுமிடித்தமை, இது வன்றிக்கீரந்தை மனைவியைத்தனியிடத்தே பிடித்த குற்றத்தை நினைத்துத்தன் கைகுறைத்தான் என்று பழைய பொழிப்புரை கூறும். அதற்குச் சான்றொன்றுமில்லை.

So states the commentary on Paḻ. 76, edited by M. Rāsamāṇikkampiḷḷai, 1948. This Pāṇṭiyaṉ therefore, is fit to be compared with a still more famous Pāṇṭian, prominent in Cilap. 20, where this dialogue occurs between the enraged Kaṇṇaki and the king of Madurai.

The king: "It is not injustice to put a thief to death."

The lady: "You have fallen from your righteousness, My golden anklet contains gems inside." "என் காற்பொற்சிலம்பு மணியுடை அரியே."

The king: "Our anklet contains pearls inside. Give your one here."

இனி இடைச்சங்கமிருந்தார்...கீரந்தையும் என இத்தொடக் கத்தார் ஐம்பதின்மர்.

[2] Tradition gives us his name as Kulasēkheraṉ, which would mean "the one at the summit of the domestic virtues". Was it an apppropriate name on this occasion? Some writers claim that he was king of Koṟkai not of Kūṭal.

The story continues:—It was given and placed before him. Kaṇṇaki then broke open her beautiful anklet, and a gem flew into the king's face. With his umbrella falling and *his sceptre faltering,* the king said: "Am I a ruler—I who have listened to the words of a gold smith? It is I who am the thief. The protection of the subjects of *the southern kingdom* has failed in my hands for the first time. Let me depart from this life." Speaking thus the king fell down in a swoon. His sense of *justice*, *ceṅkōṉmai*, led to his manifest repentance, extreme remorse and final collapse. The accents audible in Paḷ. 76 are heard more resonantly still in these lines of Cilap. 20, which depict this central theme: they are very tragic indeed.

கண்ணகி அணிமணிக் காற்சிலம்பு உடைப்ப,
மன்னவன் வாய்முதல் தெறித்தது மணியே. மணிகண்டு,
தாழ்ந்த குடையன் **தளர்ந்தசெங் கோலன்**
"பொன்செய் கொல்லன் தன்சொற் கேட்ட
யானோ அரசன்? யானே கள்வன்!
மன்பதை காக்குந் **தென்புலங்** காவல்
என்முதற் பிழைத்தது கெடுக என் ஆயுள்" என
மன்னவன மயங்கி வீழ்ந்தனனே. Lines 71-78

The pathos inherent in these lines is soul-stirring.

This sense of royal justice, *after impartial and diligent enquiry,* has been traditional in the Tamil county. It is stressed in the Kuṟaḷ in several strophes and verses, as at 390:—

கொடையளி செங்கோல் குடியோம்பல் நான்கும்
உடையானாம் வேந்தர்க்கு ஒளி.

The literal commentary on this text runs as follows:—

வேண்டுவோர்க்கு வேண்டுவன கொடுத்தலும், யாவர்க்குந் தலையளி செய்தலும், **முறை செய்தலும்**, தளர்ந்த குடிகளைப் பேணலு

மாகிய இந்நான்கு செயலையுமுடையவன் மாத்திரமே வேந்தர்க் கெல்லாம் விளக்குப்போல்வான்.

The specialized commentary on "cenkōl" states :—

செவ்விய கோல் போறலின், **செங்கோல்** எனப்பட்டது.

On "Oli" the com. says :—சாதி முழுதும் விளக்க லின், விளக்கு என்றார். ஒளி ஆகுபெயர்.[3] Likewise, in Nītineṟiviḷakkam :—

32 b—d குற்றம் அறிவரிதென்று அஞ்சுவதே **செங்கோன்மை.**
33 a—b ஏதிலார் யாதும் புகல இறைமகன் கோதொரீஇக் கொள்கை முதுக்குறைவு.

Unlike the Cōḻa king, Karikālaṉ, these two *kings of the South* had both failed in this quality, but only momentarily: when they sensed their guilt, they instantly and willingly paid the penalty in a grand, striking and sensational manner, as befitted the Tamil kings of Koṟkai and Madurai. The King of the South, who is alluded to at Paḷ. 76, cut off his hand in retributive justice: while the other Pāṇṭiyaṉ, who is mentioned at Cilap. 20, forfeited his life in the same holy cause. These Tamil kings, accordingly, appear to have been endowed with the identical Spartan virtues as the Romans (of the time of Christ) whose adage was: "Fiat justitia, ruat coelum = Let justice be done, even if the heavens were to fall down."

[3] What Kuṟal predicates of the truly great, the "cānrōr" whom I shall discuss in No. 8 below, applies still more so to the kings who were rulers, military leaders and *judges*, all three in one :—

"To incline to neither side, but to rest impartial as the even fixed scale is the ornament of *the wise.*" Compare this with what is said of kings :—

"He is the light of kings who possesses these four qualities : beneficence, benevolence, *rectitude* and care for his people." (Kur. 390).

This tradition of scrupulous royal justice was in fact carried over to the Tamil colonies abroad, as, for instance, over Palk's Straits to Īḻam or Ceylon. The Sinhalese king the Buddhist Asela, was overthrown by *a Tamil nobleman* in 145 B.C. The latter seized the capital of Rāja Raṭa, the predominant kingdom. For 44 years from Anuradhapura he ruled over all that land with unparalleled equity, according to the testimony of the Sinhale Buddhist monk, or rather bhikkhu, Mahānāma, in the Mahāvaṃsa, a panegyric on the Sinhalese kings. The *Tamil nobleman* took the fitting name of "Ellāḷaṉ" = Luminous or splendid Ruler. The Mahāvaṃsa gives us several instances of his refined sense of justice. In one instance this appears to have been naive or exaggerated. He is supposed to have condemned his beloved son's neck to be crushed under the same chariot-wheel that had crushed a calf's neck, on the mute complaint of the mother-cow, which pulled the string tied to the "Bell of Investigation" in the Court of Ellāḷaṉ. This Tamil king's justice must have been proverbial for this story to have arisen among the Sinhalese. It is also significant that the Sinhalese panegyrist is unable to find such a paragon of justice among the hundreds of Sinhalese kings that he describes or mentions and that the first Sinhalese king, Vijaya, in his treachery to Kuveni, and the restorer of Sinhalese power, *Duṣṭha* Gamāni or *Duṭu* Gemunu (=*the wicked*) are far from just on his own showing: Anyway, there does not appear among Sinhalese kings that all-consuming passion for justice that characterised Eḷḷālaṉ and these two Pāṇṭiyaṉs.

4. Under No. 1 above, I have dealt with *Pāri.* Here I shall treat about *his daughter,* who is mentioned at Pal. 381:—

மாரியொன்று இன்றி வறந்திருந்த காலத்தும்
பாரி மடமகள் பாண்மகற்கு — நீர் உலையுள்
பொன் தந்து கொண்டு புகாவாக நல்கினாள்..........

The most significant part of this stanza is thus elucidated in the commentary: சோறு இன்மையால், பொன்னையே சமைத்து உணவாகக் கொடுத்தாள். Owing to the terrible drought that afflicted that country, similar to that which dried up and impoverished Palestine for three years and six months in the time of the prophet Elijah (about 800 B.C. Cf. I Kings 17:1; 18:45; Luke 4:25), Pāri's daughter was unable to offer rice and curry to a lute-player who had entertained her party. She was, however, the daughter of one of the seven paragons of generosity. Kapilar, who panegyrised him at Pura. 105 to 120, i.e. in 16 poems out of the 400 in this anthology, has a beautiful stanza, comparing Pāri with the bounteous rain, Māri, at Pura. 107:—

பாரி பாரி என்று பல ஏத்தி
ஒருவற் புகழ்வர் செந்நாப் புலவர்
பாரி ஒருவனும் அல்லன் ;
மாரியும் உண்டீண்டு உலகுபுரப் பதுவே.

"Why is it", Kapilar asks in feigned indignation, "that poets are extolling incessantly Pāri and his generosity that is as broad as the wide earth (=pār, பார்)? There is not merely one Pāri, for there is Māri (=the welcome shower that refreshes the parched earth) too". This is exquisite poetry.

Being a daughter of *Pāri, the bounteous,* and most probably one of his daughters that are

mentioned at Puṟa N. 112 (அற்றைத் திங்கள்), 113 (மட்டுவாய் திறப்பவும்), 114 (ஈண்டு நின்றோர்க்கு), she cannot but imitate her illustrious father. She offers gold, probably mined from the hill of Paṟampu, her princely father's capital city, or from the three hundred villages and hamlets that formed his principality. Cf. Puṟa N. 110:3 முந்நூறு ஊர்த்தே தண்பறம்பு நன்னாடு. But with a "Midas touch", which here, however, works in the reverse direction or process, she boils the gold down into what appears to be *wholesome food* for her guest. This is the significance of the word "*pukā*" employed *here* and at Kṟt. 253:6, புலி புகா உறுத்த புலவு நாறு கல்லளை.

5. Not only the kings of South India and its chieftains with their progeny but also *a king* of Ceylon or *Laṅkāpura* figure in the Paḻ. This king is the celebrated *Rāvaṇa,* who is both Priam and Paris of Troy (or Ilium) to Sītā the rival of Helen but in chastity and conjugal fidelity Helen's outstanding superior. Rāvaṇa is mentioned in our work at least twice, namely at 291b and 257b.

First, 291b:—போற்றாது கொண்டு அரக்கன் போரில் அகப்பட்டான். The commentary states: இராவணன் ஆராய்தலின்றி இராமனோடு பகைகொண்டு போரிடைப்பட்டு இறந்து ஒழிந்தான். Like Paris of Troy, who, by his carrying away of Helen, the Grecian paragon of beauty, brought upon himself, upon his kith and kin and upon the entire city of Ilium, the wrath of the Greek warrior kings and princes, Agamemnon, Menelaus and Achilles and ultimate destruction at their hands, so Ravana by his precipitate, rash and inconsiderate (pōṟṟātu, போற்றாது) carrying away of Sītā (koṇṭu, கொண்டு)

brought upon his own head the just fury of her outraged husband, Rāma, a terrible war (pōr, போர்) ensued, and Rāvaṇa came to grief (akappaṭṭāṉ, அகப்பட்டான்). It is significant that the Paḷ. text employs the earlier Tam. derivative *arrakkaṉ,* from the Rigvedic rakṣás (RV. 36 : 15 pāhí nas agne rakṣásas = 0 Agni (the god of fire), protect us from the demon. The same words are repeated at RV. 517 : 13. Very similar ideas and words are found at RV. 669 : 10; 783 : 1. The word " rakṣás " *in this sense* occurs likewise at RV. 129 : 11; 249 : 1; 462 : 7; 517 : 19; 620 : 16; 803 : 4; 816 : 6; 913 : 25; 1008 : 3, *in all* 13 times in the Rigveda, the oldest of the Sanskrit sacred scriptures. It is from this ancient form that Paḷ. has derived or borrowed the Tam. arrakaṉ. Incidentally the Madras Lexicon. p. 115, is unaware of this word being present in any Tamil poem or Tamil literature as a whole and cites a lexicon (Piṅk. பிங்.) as its source for it. The later word is "irākkatan," M.L. p. 316, in Tam. In Sanskrit too, the equivalent unaccented " *rākṣasa* " is late. It is not found even once in RV. It appears, probably for the first time, in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, then in the Kauṣitaki Upaniṣad, at Manu 3 : 33, at Rāmāyaṇa, V. 10 : 17 and very frequently in the course of that epic. That our Tamil book of proverbs employs the earlier word is therefore worthy of notice.

Let us make a close study of the word " arrakkan " which is the most prominent word in Paḷ. 291b. Evidently it is a *" tajja "* or *" tadbhava "* according to Monier Williams, this means *" sprung* or born or arising *from that " :* i.e. *Sanskrit*, as Prakritic or other words. Ac-

cording to the celebrated German Lexicographers, Bohtlingk, Roth and Grassmann, the verbal root "*rakṣ*" has two distinct and contrary connotations. The first "rakṣ" means to guard, watch over, protect: in German, "jemand beschueteen, behueten.. The second: to hurt, injure, damage, violate, "beschaedigen, verletzen". It is this latter word that becomes "arakkaṉ" in Tamil.

It is well known that Rāvaṇa tried to contract with Sītā a "rākṣasa" marriage. This is the seventh out of the eight forms of marriage described by the Mānava Dharma Śāstra, at 3:20 to 34. Stanza 33 therein states, "The seizure of a maiden by force from her house, while she weeps and calls for assistance. . . . . . is the marriage styled rākṣasa". In the original Sanskrit it runs thus:—

> "hatvā chittvāca bhittvāca krośantīm
> rudatīm gṛhāt
> prahasya kanyā - haraṇam *rākṣaso*
> vidhir - ucyate"

We note with pleasure that *the author of Paḷ.* who might have employed "Rāvaṇa" (as the Com. does) or any other word, to describe him, employs instead the most *significant word* he could have thought of and the most *appropriate* in this context, the trenchant one: *arakkaṉ*. *The author* evidently knew the force of words remarkably well.

The second instance of Rāvaṇa being referred to in our work is at 257b, where he is called "Ilaṇkaikkiḻavaṉ", the king of Ceylon. The second of these words is very ancient, as employed in its original sense of "owner", "possessor",

"proprietor", "lord". Cf. "kiḻār" as the final name of certain poets of the classical age, e.g. Māṭalūr Kiḻār (கிழார்), the author of Kṟt. 150; Kōvūr Kiḻār, who composed Kṟt. 65; Kūṭalūr Kiḻār, responsible for Kṟt. 166, 167, 214; Kiḷḷi Maṅkalaṅ Kiḻār (Krt. 76, 110, 152, 181); Karavūr Kiḻār (Kṟt. 170); Kayattūr Kiḻār (Kṟt. 354); Ukaikkuṭi Kiḻār (Kṟt. 63) etc. The word "kiḻavaṉ" occurs in this sense at Kṟt. 34 : 7; 385 : 5; Tol. Por. 113 : 4, காமக் கிழவன் உள்வழிப் படினும்.

Its variant "kiḻavōṉ", at Kṟt. 332 : 6; Naṟṟ. 173:7.

The plural form "kiḻavar"=lords, at Puṟa N. 35 : 3.

Its variant "kiḻavōr"—owner (honorific plural in Tamil), at Kṟt. 392 : 8.

The feminine form "kiḻavi=lady, mistress, occurs at Tol. Por. 113:5.

According to *the* i.e., *alternance,* "kiḻa" is closely linked to "keḻu" and "kēḻ."

6. Paḷ. 257 mentions not only Rāvaṇa but also his younger brother *Vibhīṣaṇa,* in Tamil Vipīṭaṇaṉ. The two brothers are said to have propitiated Brahmā by their penances. Hence it is only in a very broad and loose sense that Rākṣasas can be termed "demons": they are rather "hurters", "violators", "foes", as I have already explained (in No. 5 above). As their recompense, Brahmā granted them both boons. Vibhīṣaṇa chose as his boon that he should never, even in the greatest calamity, stoop to any mean action. Hence in the Sanskritic Epic literature, in the Mahābhārata, in the Harivaṃsa and especially in the Rāmāyaṇa, Vibhīṣaṇa is represented as constantly endeavouring to counter act

the malice of his brother, Rāvaṇa; as a consequence of this, Rāvaṇa ill-treated him to such an extent that, leaving Laṅkā, he joined Rāma. After the defeat and downfall of Rāvaṇa, Rāma placed Vibhīṣaṇa on the vacant throne of Laṅka. Cf. Rāmāyaṇa, V, 91. This story is very concisely related in Paḻ. 257a–c:—

பொலந்தார் இராமன் துணையாகத் தான் போந்து
இலங்கைக் கிழவற்கு இளையான் — இலங்கைக்கே
போந்து இறை ஆயதூஉம் பெற்றான்.

Rāma is presented here as wearing a garland of golden flowers. This is the common representation of this hero. Thus also does Pukaḻēntiyār describe him in his Naḷa Veṇpā, Kali toṭar kāṇṭam:—

"தேன்பிடிக்குந் தண்துழாய்ச் செங்கட் கருமுகிலை"

Vibhīṣaṇa hastened to the assistance of Rāma from Laṅkā: as a reward, he returned to Lanka as its king. Note here the choice of words: in line b "kiḻavaṉ" and in line c "iṟai" both signify "*proprietorship and lordship together*", but in the former word. "ownership" is more prominent, as befitting Rāvaṇa, who is supposed to be the hereditary king of Laṅkā: in the latter word "iṟai", "lordship" predominates, as this term is applicable to God, king and husband alike. Cf. Ariccantirappurāṇam, Mayāṉa kāṇṭam 21d:—

"இனியாரைநம்பி, உயிர்வாழ்வம் என்தன் இறையோனும்
யானும் அவமே ?"

From the above legendary narrative, the author of the Paḻ. work draws a moral or lesson, which rounds off this stanza, at 257c-d ....
பெரியாரைச் சார்ந்து கெழீஇயிலார் இல்.

"Adhere to the great: *inevitably* you will earn your reward." Note the two *alternating* stems, "kiḻa"-and "keḻu" (the source of keḻīiyilār) in lines b and d of this stanza. Occurring so close to each other, these two words tend to confirm what I have stated already, in the last sentence of No. 5 above, and to rivet the linguistically—minded readers' attention to the i.e., *alternance* both in Tamil and in the Dravidian tongues as a whole.

Let us study closely the second word "keḻu", just as we have done with the alternant "kiḻa" earlier, under No. 5. The Madras Lexicon, which I shall henceforth call M.L., gives to this word, on page 1090, three meanings: colour, brightness, and euphonic increment. Although it cites Tol. Col. 303 and Tol. Eḻutt. 481 for two of these three meanings, they are neither basic nor the original ones. In the related word "keḻumu", however; which M.L. lists soon afterwards, in its second or *transitive* verbal signification, occurs the very first sense: to attain, join, unite, பொருந் துதல், as at Paṭṭiṉappālai 47:—தேரோட்டத்துகள்கெழுமி = தூளியாய்ப் பொருந்தி. Further down in the same column of this identical page in M.L. occurs "keḻuvu", another relative of "keḻu", M.L. gives it the sense of "friendship", நட்பு, as at Paripā. 8:63 கேளிர் மணலின் கெழுவதும் இதுவோ? Here we are nearer the basic meaning of "keḻu", which is "to be mixed with", "adjoining to", "having the quality of", *in its intransitive sense*, and "to reach, come also to, unite", *in the transitive.* Cf. Kṟt. 71:4 kal keḻu kāṉavar; 145:1 tuṟai keḻu ciṟu kuṭi, 170:4 malai keḻu nāṭaṉ; 241:2; 255:3 264:1; 374:3; Naṟṟ. 35:7; 395:9; Aka Nā. 17:1;

25:19; 98:1 and 29; 162:13, 19 and 21; 338:2; Pura̠ Nā. 24:17 keḻīiya; 69:15; 76:9; 266:1; Patir̠r̠. 15:38; Tol. Por. 115:8 and 196:6 have the vin̠ai eccam of this verb as "keḻīi" = porunti in the Com. The corresponding peyar eccam "keḻīiya" (= poruntiya in the Com.) occurs at Kr̠t. 2:3; 264:1; Pura̠ Nā. 24:17; Cīv. 754a, b. Further, Tol. Por. 119 has "pāl keḻu kiḻavi", Tol. Por. 220:1 "keḻu takai potuccol".

We have accordingly shown that both the verb "keḻu" and the "vin̠ai eccam" formation in -īi(keḻ-īi) are ancient. We note that Paḻ. 257 has precisely this verb in its oldest sense; for the Com. explains கெழீஇலார் in the text as பயன் அடையாதார் = those who have not *attained* to a reward. Time does not allow me to give the reader a wealth of instances to prove that the "vin̠ai eccam" ending in "īi" is one of oldest in the Tamil classics. Accordingly the fourth line of Paḻ. 257 strikes us as very ancient. This is the proverb proper and the core of the relevant stanza.

7. Just as Paḻ. 257 alludes to the Rāmāyaṇa war, so Paḻ. 356 mentions certain *anecdotes of the Mahābhārata war.* To wit,

பாரதத்து	உள்ளும்	பணையம்தம்	தாயமா
ஈரைம்	பதின்மரும்	போரெதிர்ந்து	ஐவரோடு
ஏதிலர்	ஆகி	இடைவிண்டார்	....

According to the commentary, the first word here does not denote the Bhārata country, i.e. Aryavarta or North India, but the Mahābhārata epic: பாரத நூல் உள்ளும். If we could be sure that this was a *Tamil* epic, based, of course, on the Sanskrit original, just as this too seems

to have been based on a still earlier proto-Dravidian original, going back almost to the imperial age of Harappa and Mohenjodaro, like the Epic of Gilgamesh in Sumerian, then these words "pāratattuḷḷum, பாரதத்துள்ளும்" would help us to date this stanza of Paḻ., if not the whole work. We would be still nearer the mark, if we had quite definite information as to the exact edition of the Tamil epic which the author of Paḷ. is referring to here. Most of the commentators think that this was "Peruntēvaṉār's" translation. In fact, this poet is invariably referred to, with this sobriquet or nickname, as பாரதம் பாடிய பெருந்தேவனார், the one who sang Pāratam. But the century in which this poet lived is not fixed. M.L., on page 2876, gives us the names of three literary men who bore the name. "Peruntevanar": it ascribes the last to the 11th century, and the middle one to the ninth, but gives no date to the first, the one whom we are concerned about. A diligent study, however, of such extracts from his epic as have escaped the ravages of time and of white ants, e.g. the stanzas cited by Nacc. in his commentary on Tol. Por. 72, pages 222 to 230, and elsewhere, would help us to fix the date of this epic poet, whom M.L. calls "a Caṅkam poet", பாரதம் பாடிய சங்கப் புலவர். If this were the "pāratam" that *Paḷ. 356a* refers to, as is most likely, then the *latter* would be a later work. The story of the struggle of the hundred sons (ஈர் ஐம்பதின்மர் = 2 × 50) of Dhṛtarāshtra, headed by Duryōdhana, against their 5 cousin-brothers, the Pañca Pāṇḍavas, ஐவர் = the five, starting with the gambling contest at Hastināpura, which is concisely alluded to

here: panaiyamtamtāyamā, பணையந்தந்தாயமா, that story, I repeat, is well-known. The gambling it was that led to the war: போர் எதிர்ந்து......எதிலர் ஆகி, and to the untimely death of the 100 Kauravas: இடைவிண்டார், itaivintār. Hence the moral: "avoid gambling".....ஆதலால் காதலோடு ஆடார் கவறு (subject: cānrōr), Pal. 356d.

8. A prominent person in the Mahābhārata war on the Pāṇḍava side was Lord Kṛṣṇa. He was thus named very probably from the dark blue colour of his shining skin. To the European or American reader I am obliged to introduce him briefly. Vasudeva had eight sons by his second wife, Devakī. Her cousin, Kaṃsa, King of Mathurā in Āryavarta (modern Hindhustan), was informed by the Gods through a prediction that one of these sons would kill him. Accordingly King Kaṃsa kept Vasudeva and his wife in confinement and slew their first six children. The seventh, Bālarāma, was palmed off as the son, not of Devakī, but of Rōhinī, Vasudeva's first wife, from whose children Kaṃsa had apparently nothing to fear. Soon after the birth of the youngest, Kṛṣṇa, with a peculiar and auspicious mark on his breast, his father managed escape from prison with this child. He found a heardsman named *Nanda,* whose wife, Yaśōdā, had just been delivered of a son. The two infants changed places, so that the suspicion and ire of Kaṃsa, similar to that of King Herod the Great in Palestine, (Cf. Matthew, ch. 2), was not aroused. Nanda and Yaśōdā took the infant Kṛṣṇa and settled first in Gōkula and afterwords in "*Vṛndāvana*", a name recently applied to the beautifully illuminated gardens at the Kan-

nambāḍi dam near Mysore in S. India. This was Rādhā's or "*vṛndā's forest*" a wood near the town of Gōkula, in the district of Mathurā on the left bank of the *Yamunā* (or Jumnā), a tributary of the biggest and longest river in India, the Ganges or Gaṅgā. Incidentally the etymology, so long given by Sanskrit Dictionaries, e.g. Monier Williams (which will henceforth be M.W.), page 341, is "gam" = to go: the "Gaṅgā" is supposed to be a "swift-goer." But there is no special speed to be noted in the "Gaṅgā" as distinct from other rivers, like the Indus. This word seems to be rather derived from the Dravidian "kaṅku" = the steep bank (of a river). It is accordingly a loan word into Sanskrit from the Dravidians who lived there earlier: but about this I shall deal later, in other articles.

Kṛṣṇa and Bālarāma grew up together, roaming these woods and joining in the sports of the herdsmen's sons. As a youth, Kṛṣṇa contested the soverignty of Indra and *was victorious over that god*: he became thus the protector of cattle par excellence, "gōpa" or "gōpālaḥ". Cattle, however, were not his main interest, for Kṛṣṇa sported constantly with the "gōpīs" or shepherdesses. A thousand of these became his wives, *Rādhā* being the favourite.

One we have grasped this background knowledge, we are in a good position to understand the interesting anecdotes that the Paḻ. gives us, in several places, about this Vaishnavite god. Let us start with Paḻ. 334b-c:—. . . . .
தொழுநையுள் மாலையும் மாலை மயக்குறுத்தாள்.

(*a*) Toḻunai is one of the few peculiar words that have n (ந), rather than ṉ (ன), in

this position. Similar words are porunaṉ, Aka N. 76:9; Puṟa N. 42:18; 58:9; 78:6; aṭunai, Puṟa N. 36:1; porunai,[4] Puṟa N. 11:5; 36:5; viṭ-unai, Puṟa N. 36:1, etc. The particle "un" in the middle syllable is connected with "untu", in such words as pāyuntu, Puṟa N. 24:3; tūṅkuntu, ibidem. 24:6; tarūuntu, 24:9; olikkuntu, 137:6; pūkkuntu, 137:8; paṟikkuntu, 352:4; uṟaikkuntu, 384:6; vaikuntu, 384:9; peyarkkuntu, 395:11; tūṅkuntu, 400:14. Modern Malayalam has nasalized the plosive that follows the nasal, just as English (or rather, old High German) "timber" has become modern German "zimmer". Hence the Mal. verbal ending in "unnu". The Tel. particle "un" is also connected herewith and goes back to "proto-Dravidian". Hence I should think that "toḻunai" is an exceedingly ancient word, connected with "toṭu"="to touch, join with": accordingly it came to signify "the tributary", par excellence, of the Ganges, viz. the Yamunā. The Com. on Paḻ. 334b has "yamuṇaiyiṉkaṇē, யமுனையின்கண்ணே". There is an exquisitely delightful description both of the Yamunā and Kṛṣṇa's amorous sports there, in Aka N. 59:3-6 . . . . நீயே வடாஅது

வண்புனல் தொழுநை வார்மணல் அகன்துறை
அண்டர் மகளிர் தண்தழை உடீஇயர்
மரஞ்செல மிதித்த மாஅல்

The Com. narrates the incident succinctly: வடக்கின் கண்ணதாய நீர்வளமருத **யமுனையாற்றின்** நெடிய மணலையுடைய அகன்ற துறையில் நீராடிய ஆயர்மகளிர் தண்ணிய தழையை உடுத்திக்கொள்ள, குருந்த மரம் வளைந்திட மிதித்துத் தந்த கண்ணன் . . . . . . ஏனெனில் அவர்கள் நீராடுங்கால்

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[4] Kindly look up *Supplementary Note 2* at the close of this article".

கரையில் இட்டுவைத்த ஆடைகளைக் கண்ணபிரான் விளையாட்டாக எடுத்துக்கொண்டு குருந்த மரத்தேறியிருந்தார். அப்பொழுது பல தேவர் (*sic,* probably for Bālarāma) அங்கு வர, அம் மகளிர் ஒருசேர மறைதற்கு வேறு வழியின்மையால், தாம் ஏறி யிருந்த குருந்த மரக்கொம்பினைத் தாழ்த்துக் கொடுத்தார்.

"நீல்நிற வண்ணன் அன்று நெடுந்துகில் கவர்ந்து தம்முன்
பால்நிற வண்ணன் நோக்கிற் பழியுடைத்து என்று, கண்டாய்,
வேல்நிறத் தானை வேந்தே, விரிபுனற் **றொழுனை யாற்றுட்**
கோல்நிற வளையி னார்க்குக் குருந்துஅவன் ஒசித்து என்றான்."

Cīvakacintāmaṇi, 209.

(*b*) Now we take up the beautiful line: "mālaiyum mālai mayak kuṟuttāḷ". Note that every "cīr" has "m" as the initial letter and that there is a delightful pun on "mālai". The first "mālai" is the accusative singular of "māl". M.L. p. 3174-5 gives us seven forms of "māl", each with its own group of meanings. The first two go together, being the verbal and nominal forms of the same root or base. The fundamental meaning here is "to be confused, perturbed" as at Aka N. 3:5 **மான்று** வேட்டு எழுந்த செஞ்செவி எருவை. The Com. has "mayaṅki" .... "being perplexed". As a noun, "Mal" denotes the mental confusion caused by sexual desire or lust, as at Paripā. 10:42 மடப்பிடி கண்டு வயக்களிறு **மால்** உற்று. The Com. has பிடியைக் கண்டு **காமத்தால் மயக்கம்** உற்று. This one meaning is better than the three separate ones that M.L. gives to māl,[2] p. 3175. The fourth meaning that M.L. gives to māl [2] comes out clearly in the old text of Perumpāṇ. 487:—நூலோர் புகழ்ந்த மாட்சிய **மால்** கடல். The Com. for the last "cīr" is "*karuṅk*aṭal" = the *dark or black* sea. When we remember that Kṛṣṇa was a hero of Aryavarta or North India, that "kṛṣṇa" in Sanskrit means precisely

this: "*dark, blue-black*", like Quink, that Tamil poets had to find a suitable word to translate "kṛṣṇa" into their own language, we are led to the inevitable conclusion that here we have the fundamental meaning of "Māl" as applied to this god or hero. Hence "*blackness*" or "*darkness*" *is basic to* "*Tirumāl*". Accordingly all the meanings that M.L. gives under Māl [3] are quite secondary and can be shown to flow from the basic ones that I have just shown as adhering to māl [2]. Hence the words "*cf. mahat*" that M.L. gives us at the beginning of its elucidation of māl [3] are quite misleading. Hence the semantic flow is in this manner:—Darkness > the Dark one or "Kṛṣṇa" in Tamil "Māl" > Viṣṇu, the great god > the great man, resembling Viṣṇu > greatness. Note that this last meaning comes mostly in late works and in lexicons like Piṅk. (பிங்கல நிகண்டு)

The second "mālai" at Pal. 334c, meaning originally "a garland", here denotes "the wearer of garlands" a woman, especially one who sings and dances, M. L. p. 3177, mālai,[3] meanings 1–3, 7–8. Here it points out Piṉṉai, better known as Vṛndā or Rādhā, the favourite consort of Kṛṣṇa among his thousand Gopis. Cf. Piṉṉai at M.L. p. 2729 and Nappiṉṉai at M.L. 2153, cf. Kīrar and Nakkīrar. Now let us study the Commentary on Paḷ. 334 b-c: திருமாலையும் பின்னையென்பாள் தன் அழகினால் மயக்கச் செய்தாள் . . . . . . "மாலையும் என்றது, பிறரை மால் செய்தலையே (i.e. confusing the minds of others) தொழிலாகக்கொண்டு அதனாலேயே இப் பெயரைப் பெற்றனர் என்பதே. திருமாலையே பின்னை மயக்குறுத்தாள். Rādhā, by her beauty, was able to confuse the mind of the great Confuser, to delude

the mind of the Deluder par excellence, Kṛṣṇa, on the banks of the Yamunā. Thus says the Com. The Paḻ. stanza blends pun and irony delightfully.

(*c*) From the above incident the author of Pal. 334 draws the conclusion, in line d:— (அஃதால்) சால்பினைச் சால்பறுக்கும் ஆறு. The Comm. explains it as மிகுதியினை மிக்கதோன்றல் அறுக்குமாற்றை ஒக்கும். It is somewhat similar to the English adage about diamond cutting diamonds. Note the occurance, twice in the same line, of "cālpu". This word "cāl" is peculiarly ancient, coming down from Proto-Dravidian times, as Tel. cālu (at present pronounced more like tsālu) = sufficiency; tsālunu = it is enough; tsāluṭa = to suffice; Kanarese sāl, Malayalam cāl and such other words testify. In ancient Tamil, it was a full verb, just as it is in modern Telugu, but somewhere between the age of Tolkāppiyam and that of Naṉṉūl the verbal forms fell into desuetude in Tamil, where it became an "uriccol", which is a cross between an adjective and adverb. This will become clear to the impartial reader who compares the later Naṉṉūl, 456:

சால உறுதவ நனிகூர் கழி மிகல்,

(The six words starting with "cāla" denote "abundance"), with Tol. Col. 299:

உறுதவ நனியென வரூஉ(ம்) மூன்று(ம்)
மிகுதி செய்யும் பொருள் என்ப.

The meaning signified by the set of words is identical, but whereas Tol. Col. gives us only three (cala is emphatically not one of these), Naṉ. expands the set to six. The identical order of the three words that figure in both lists is

striking: it shows that the author of Naṉ. had Tol. Col before him and expanded that list of Tol. to suit his own times. This deduction from the comparison of these two grammars is powerfully reinforced from a short study of a few ancient texts, where the Tam. verb "cālu" and its derivatives: "cālpu", "cāṉṟa" (the peyar eccam), "cāṉṟōr" (the viṉaiyāl aṇaiyum peyar, positive) and "cālār" (the above mentioned, but negative) occur. This investigation will tend to show that Paḷ., where this word occurs pretty often, comes much nearer the age of Tolkāppiyam than the time of Naṉṉūl.

As a full-blooded verb, "cālu" or "cāl" makes its first appearance in our extant Tam. texts where I have all allong taught my readers to expect it, namely in that exquisite anthology of "short Love Poems"—the "Kuṟuntokai". There in Poem 101 we read:—

விரிதிரைப் பெருங்கடல் வளைஇய உலகமும்
அரிதுபெறு சிறபபிற் புத்தேள் நாடும்
இரண்டுந் தூக்கிற் சீர்சாலாவே . . . . .
. . . . குறுமகள்
தோள்மாறு படூஉம் வைகலொடு எமக்கே!

The Com. in brief runs thus: பூவுலக இன்பமும் ......தேவருலக இன்பமும் ஆகிய அவை இரண்டும்......இத் தலைவியினது தோளோடு தோள் மாறுபடத் தழுவும் இன்பத் தோடு ஒருங்குவைத்து ஆராய்ந்தால், எனக்கு அவ்விரண்டும் இத் துடன் **ஒவ்வா**. The earthly and the heavenly delights *are* both sadly *deficient*, when compared with the delight involved in my enjoyment of this young girl.

Here we see the verb employed in its original sense, to wit, *to be sufficiently large, great*

or abundant. Cālpu has the sense of "fitness" the "calmness" of the truly great, (in the Com. "takuti", "amaiti",) at Kṟt. 90:7; 366:2; Patiṟṟ. 19 : 13; 32 : 2 மாதிரம் விளக்குஞ் **சால்பும்** செம்மையும் Patiṟṟ. 74 : 19 **சால்புஞ்** செம்மையும் உளப்பட பிறவும். [The Com. lists here the qualities of true greatness (or cālpu) as அன்பும் நாணும் ஒப்புரவும் கண்ணோட்டமும் வாய்மையும் நடுவுநிலையும், quite a formidable set of virtues for our morning meditation and our nightly examination of conscience, if we seek them]. So again at Patiṟṟ. 82:14 வண்மையுஞ் செம்மையுஞ் **சால்பும்** அறனும்; likewise *at Pal. 59d* தான் நோன்றிட வரும் **சால்பு.**

"Cānra", the peyar eccam, is met with at Pura N. 11:7 பாடல் **சான்ற** விறல் வேந்தனும்மே.

"Cāṉṟōr", the most common of these derivatives, occurs at Kṟt. 102:4; 252:6; 265:3 தாம் அறி செம்மைச் **சான்றோர்**; Puṟa N. 34:20, 191:6–7 ஆன்ற விந்தடங்கிய கோள்கைச் **சான்றோர்.** Puṟa N. 218:5–7 gives both the positive and negative forms :—

.... என்றுஞ் **சான்றோர்**
சான்றோர் பாலர் ஆப;
சாலார் **சாலார்** பாலர் ஆகுபவே. This means :

"birds of the same feather flock together". Likewise at Puṟa N. 375:8. In all the above instances, the Com. renders "cāṉṟōr" as அறிவானும் நற்குணங் களானும் மிகுந்தமைந்த **பெரியோர்** = those great by their knowledge and virtues. At Puṟa N. 266:8, the Com. refers to the "literati" or learned ones, and at Puṟa N. 63:5, "warriors", excelling in their own martial virtues, are denoted by this term, "*cāṉṟōr*, we shall now study this group of words in the Kuṟ.

(அ) At Kuṟ. 25b, 165a, 475b, 770b, 1037b, 1060b, 1233a, we meet with "cal", as a verb: atu cālum =that is enough, *that suffices.* Here "cāl" is a full finite verb.

(ஆ) The noun "cālpu" occurs at Kuṟ. 105b, 956a, 983b, 984b, 986a, 987b, 988a, 1013b, 1064b. This last runs: (iṭam illāk) kālum irav-ollāc cālpu.

(இ) "cāṉṟōr" is pretty common, as at Kuṟ. 115b, 118b, 148a, 197a, 299a, 328a, 458a, 656b, 657a, 802b, 840a,, 922a, 923b, 982a, 985a, 1014a, 1078a.

(ஈ) The peyar eccam "cāṉṟa" occurs at least three times in the Kuṟ.: at 56a, 581a and at 1001a வைத்தான் வாய் **சான்ற** பெரும் பொருள்.

Parimēlaḻakar's Commentary on Kuṟ. 1001a runs thus:—

தன் மனையகலமெல்லாம் **நிறைதற்கேதுவாய** பெரும்பொருளை யீட்டிவைத்து உலோபத்தால் அதனை உண்ணாதவன். Note that the Com. equates "cāṉṟa" to (நிறைந்த) "niṟainta", which means "to be full", "being full".[5] Thus the Kuṟ. employs this set of words 41 times, at the least.

This group of words occurs about a score of times in the *Paḷ* too. As a verb, it makes its appearance at least 3 times, to wit,

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[5] (*a*) Kuṟ. has also the formation "cāṉṟāṇmai" at 981b, 989a, 990a. This is to be found likewise at Nālaṭi: 126b, 142a, 179c. Nāl. employs "cāl" verbally at 7a, 34c, 49d, 140a, 188c, 243d, 318a, and the noun "cāṉṟōr" at 58d, 68d, 100c, 126a, 133a, 151b, 152b, 153a, 165c, 179b, 227b, 275c, 298d, 316c, 343b, 344b, 349b, 356c, 357b, 368a.

(*b*) There is a variant of "cāṉṟōr" as "cāṉṟavar", as at Kuṟ. 990a. The singular form "cāṉṟōn" occurs at least once in the Kuṟ., namely at 69b. Nāl. too employs "cāṉṟavar" at 41a, 154a, 190b, 255c, 295b. Thus we find words of this stem: "cāl" employed 35 times in Nālaṭiyār.

122a urai cāṉṟa = pukal niṟainta, Com.
242a cāla = mikutiyāṉavaikaḷaikkūri, Com.
87c cālavum mikkavar = mikavum uyarntavar, Com.

The noun "cālpu" occurs at 59d, 334 (twice in line d), 339c.

The nominal formation from the verbal, termed viṉaiyāl aṇaiyum peyar, is found *in our work either* as

(*a*) Cāṉṟavaṉ, as at 81b, 185b; and its plural, at 49b, 75a, 83c, 242a, *or* as

(*b*) Cāṉṟōr, as at 74d, 82c, 85b, 86c, 122a, 180c.

This wealth of instances on the part of this ancient verb "cāl", and of its derivatives should lead us to ascribe an early date to Paḷ. among our classical Tamil texts.

Having dealt so extensively with the *linguistic* aspect of "cālpu", let us consider for a moment its *philosophical* aspect. A mother speaking at Puṟa N. 312:1-2, distinguishes her duty from that of the father in educating their son to become wise, learned and respectable, in these words:—

ஈன்றுபுறந் தருதல் என்தலைக் கடனே :
சான்றோன் ஆக்குதல் தந்தைக்குக் கடனே.

While citing Patiṟṟ. 74:19 above, I mentioned qualities that are essential thereto. They are the same that constitute the Greek "didaskalos", the Latin "magister", the Sanskritic "guru". Semantic growth and developmets are quite parallel in several languages, whether Dravidian, Indo-Aryan or Semitic. In these we find this development:—big, large, great > preceptor, teacher,

"guru". Thus Latin "gravis" = weighty, elevated, dignified, as in Cicero, where it is predicated of "testis, auctor". Its *equivalent,* Sk. "guru" = weighty, excellent; any venerable or respectable person. Sk. "mah", originally "magh" (M.W. p. 753) = to be great. Lat. has "magnus" = great, "magis" = larger, rather, whence the noun "magister" = teacher. The greek original at Matthew, 2:1 "mágoi 'apò' analotốn" should be rendered "the preceptors or ācāryas from the Oriental lands", chiefly Persia [or modern Iran, from the original "Airanya" = the Aryan land; cf. E. Rhys: Atlas of Ancient Geography, pages 58–59: Media and Ariana].

This semantic development in the Indo-European languages has its parallel in the Semitic or West Asian tongues. Thus, in Hebrew, "*rabh*" has the following connotations, in this order: (1) much; (2) enough or abundant, exactly corresponding to Tel. tsālu and Tam. Cāl: (3) vast, great; (4) a great man, a noble by station or dignity or qualities. Cf. Samuel Bagster's Hebrew Lexicon, 1959, p. 239. According to the Semitic habit of grafting personal pronominal suffixes, like "ī", to the nouns, we get "rabbī" = my master, as at John 1:38; 3:26; 9:2 and often elsewhere in the Christian gospels, which we possess only in the Greek and its translations. As Greek has no separate letter to denote the long "ī" of the Hebrew and Aramaic, the word in Greek takes the form of Rabbei ò légetài Didáskale, or (ò légetai methermēneuómenon Didáskale) or of 'Rabbonnei', as at John 20:16. At John 3:10, Jesus addresses the Pharisee a member of the Sanhedrin or Supreme Council (71

members) of the Jewish nation, named Nicodemus and rebukes him thus: "Art thou a *Master* 'ò didàskalos toũ' Israèl in Israel and knowest not these things?" The original speech of Jesus would have been "*Rabh*" in the Hebrew-Aramaic tongues.

Now I make the point of this long dissertation. I have never seen in any Tamil lexicon or vocabulary or dictionary the connotation of "masters, preceptors" given to "ca<u>n</u><u>r</u>ōr". Still the semantic developments in these two groups of languages would lead us to postulate a similar one in the Dravidian. Further, we are told by commentators that when Tolkāppiya<u>n</u>ār so often alludes to his predecessors and states "e<u>n</u>pa, mo<u>l</u>ipa", we are to supply the word "cā<u>n</u><u>r</u>ōr". In this case this can only mean the masters of grammar or the prefect "literati". Moreover, even in colloquial speech we often hear the phrase: "cā<u>n</u><u>r</u>ōrccollai ppi<u>n</u>pa<u>r</u><u>r</u>utal". One last point in one translation of the Ku<u>r</u>. I note that "cālpu" at 987b is rendered as "perfect goodness". Hence "cā<u>n</u><u>r</u>ōr" could be rendered likewise as "*the perfect*", provided it is not taken in the pharisaic sense and one does not include oneself in this category, while relegating the others to the opposite camp—the "perfect warriors", as at Pu<u>r</u>a N. 63:5; 312:2, the Tamil Sir Galahads; or "perfect masters" of grammar or literature, the Tamil Pāṇinis and Kālidāsas; or the "morally perfect" the "enlightened ones", in adages, maxims and moral aphorisms.

9. Let us now return to Kṛṣṇa. In the previous number, 8, we saw him as a young and amorous shepherd with flowing hair and a flute

in his hand, enjoying himself in the pleasant company of the Gōpīs or "āyarmakaḷir," shepherdesses on the banks of the Yamunā. Now we shall continue his life-story further and narrate a few of his martial exploits that are alluded to in Paḷ. At Mahābhārata, 2 : 1441 ; 5 : 4410 ; Viṣṇu Purāṇa, page 526 (Dr. Hall's edition, Vol. 4, page 315), in the Harivaṃsa and the Raghuvaṃsa, Kṛṣṇa is extolled as the great protector of cows and cowherds, chiefly because of the "*gōvardhana*" incident. This is a celebrated hill in Vṛndāvana. Indra sent a terrible storm to test Kṛṣṇa's divine prowess. The cowherds with their flocks and herds came running helter-shelter to Kṛṣṇa for protection therefrom. Kṛṣṇa thereupon lifted up the "gōvardhana" hill and supported it upon one finger for seven days to shelter the cowherds from the storm. cf. Supplementary Note 1.

(*a*) At Paḷ. 42a--b, we get the Tamil version of this incident :—

ஆவிற்கு அரும்பனி தாங்கிய மாலையும்
கோவிற்கு கோவலன் என்றுலகம் கூறுமால்.

We note that the cold rain that accompanied the heavy thunderstorm is termed "arum" difficult to endure and "paṉi", a word that is usually reserved to do or snow-fall ; that "Kṛṣṇa" is not yet rendered as "Kaṇṇaṉ" or "Kṛṭṭiṉaṉ" as nowadays, but as "māl", meaning the "dark one", and that he now acquires the sobriquet or nickname of Kōvalaṉ or Gōvinda. The Com. hereon describes the event more vividly :—"இந்திரன் சினந்து ஏவிய மழையைக் கண்ணன் மலைகொண்டு தடுத்து ஆக்களைக் காப்பாற்றிய செய்தி. . . . ஆக்களைக் காவல் செய்தல் அறம், சிறந்த அறம். . . . இதுபற்றியே புறநா. 6 : 1 'ஆவும் ஆனியற் பார்ப்பன மாக்களும்' என கூறுநிற்கும்."

(*b*) Pal. 75(b-d) briefly alludes to this incident :— ....பல்லா

> நிரைப்புறங் காத்த நெடியோனே ஆயினும்
> உரைத்தால் உரைபெறுதல் உண்டு

The Com. states : பலவாகிய பசுக் கூட்டங்களைக் காத்த நீண்ட வடிவெடுத்த திருமாலேயாயினும், சபையில் ஒருவனை இகழ்ந்துரைத்தால், தாமும் அவனால் இகழ்ச்சியுரையை அடைதல் உண்டு.

About this I shall deal shortly. The Com. adds: " நெடியோனேயாயினும் " என்று உயர்த்துக் கூறுவதால், இந் நூலாசிரியர் திருமாலிடம் அன்புடையார் என்பது பெறப்படும். We shall discuss this point in the last section (VI) of this research-study, in the third article.

From Pal. 42a-b and 75b-d the Com. argues that the author was a Vaishnavite in religion.

10. The Com. on Pal. 75c-d is very defective, as the interesting anecdote, which the *author* of Pal. had certainly in mind but which he could not mention within the contracted space of the 15 " cīr " in a " veṇpā " stanza, has been completely left out, although the *commentator* had all the space that he needed. Unless this incident is recalled to mind, the reader will not be able to perceive the exact force of the adage : " when one scolds, one must expect to be rebuked "— " uraittāl urai peṟutal uṇṭu," Pal. 75d.

The eldest of the Pāṇḍava princes, Yudhiṣṭhira, resolved to perform the Rājasūya sacrifice and was joined by Kṛṣṇa. Cf. the Mahābhārata, Sabhā-parvan, 5 : 1211 and read on to stanza 1451. Numerous kings assembled to witness the celebration. An *assembly* is termed " Sabhā " in Sanskrit : hence comes the name of this section of

MBh., namey Sabhā-parvan. In Tamil, which has no sibilant, this word becomes "*avai*", as at Paḻ. 17d, 20a, 23a, b, 24a, b, 25b, 75a. It is clear that the author of Paḻ. 75 had such an *assembly* in mind from the first two lines :—

பல்லார் அவைநடுவண் பாற்பட்ட சான்றவர்
சொல்லார் ஒருவரையும் உள்ளூன்ற.

Then follow the two lines which I have just cited, under No. 9b above. The context too thus favours the interpretation that I make here. I shall now describe this incident in some detail for the sake of clarity.

At this assembly Kṛṣṇa seems to have made a *few disparaging remarks* at the expense of Śiśupāla, king of the Cēdis, whom M.W. on page 1076 speaks of as inhabitants of Bundelkhand in Central India. This *rebuke* of Kṛṣṇa seems to have cut Śiśupāla to the quick and pierced his soul. Let the reader grasp the force of the phrase "uḷ ūṉṟa" in Paḻ. 75b and of "uraittāl" in the next line. There arose an implacable hostility between the two warriors, an enmity that lasted till Kṛṣṇa slew his rival in the manner so admirably described by Māgha in his "Śiśupāla-vadha", a B.A. textbook in the Mysore and London Universities in certain years. But immediately there was a terrible diatribe on Śiśupāla's part against Kṛṣṇa, in these words :—"Thou art a transgressor of the injunctions of the law (smṛti), a contemptible and ill-instructed person". Then, not deigning to speak to Kṛṣṇa, he speaks of him to the others :—"He is not a king, or a person venerable from age; his father Vasudeva, being still alive; he has unjustly killed Jarāsandha. Kṛṣṇa is like a dog devouring

in a secret place the leavings of an oblation which he has discovered "......" Ayuktām ātmanaḥ pūjām tvam punar bahu manyasē:

Haviṣaḥ prāpya nisyandam prāśitā svēva nirjanē"

In the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, X, 74: 34, Śiśupāla's speech on the same occasion contains a more vehement invective against Kṛṣṇa. The former asks: " How does this cowherd, the vilest of his race, deserve homage, any more than a *black crow* deserves to eat an oblation?" In these words one detects an allusion to Kṛṣṇa's *dark skin*, which aroused in the "white" prince from Cēdi that unreasoning contempt and superciliousness, which, in the Convocation Address at the University of London in June 1949, drew forth from another Krishna [Menon] the stern rebuke they deserve, in modern times, as indulged in by some half-witted Europeans and "white"-inebriated Americans, and recently by the "piedsnoirs" in Algeria.

Kṛṣṇa then addressed the assembled princes thus: This malignant man is the bitter enemy, truculent and ill-disposed, of us the Sātvatas, who have done him no wrong. He burned my capital, Dvārakā. He carried off my father's horse which was intended for the sacrifice. In his infatuation he carried off the wife of the devotee Babhru and the devout Bhadrā, my cousin...... He sought to gain Rukminī; but the fool did not obtain her, as a Śūdra is excluded from the "Vēda". This mention of Rukminī was a "faux pas" (or false step) on Kṛṣṇa's part Bhīṣmaka, king of Kuṇḍina in the country of the Vidarbhas, Berar, and his son Rukminī, both gave Rukminī, the beautiful princess, to Śiśupāla, al-

though Kṛṣṇa loved her and the sweetly smiling maid loved Kṛṣṇa. The latter came to witness the nuptials of his rival, and *carried off the princess on the eve of the wedding.*[6] cf. Harivaṃsa, Section 117, verses 6579 ff., Bhagavata Purāṇa, X, sections 43 ff. Accordingly the mighty Śiśupāla, hearing these words of Kṛṣṇa, laughed a sonorous laugh and spoke thus: "How is it that thou art not ashamed, Kṛṣṇa, thus in this assembly, and especially before the princes, to make mention of Rukminī, who was betrothed to me?"

In this bitter dialogue between these two princes we see the truth of the proverb, already cited: "uraittāl urai peṟutal uṇṭu".

11. Kṛṣṇa is supposed to be an "avatar" (or incarnation) of Viṣṇu. Let us pass on now from the "avatar" to the god himself. He is mentioed in at least two stanzas of Paḻ. First I shall take Paḻ. 301:—

வாள்திறலானை வளைத்தார்கள் அஞ்ஞான்று
வீட்டிய சென்றார்; விளங்கொளி—காட்டப்
பொருவறு தன்மைகண்டு அஃதொழிந்தார் அஃதால்
உருவு திருவூட்டும் ஆறு.

The commentary runs thus:—முன்னொரு காலத்தில் **நாந்தகம்** எனும் வாளினையுடைய மிக்க திறல் பொருந்திய திருமாலைக் கொல்லும்பொருட்டுச் சென்ற **மதுகைடவர்** என் போர் வளைந்து சூழ்ந்தார்கள். அப்பொழுது அவன் நிலைபெற்று விளங்குகின்ற தனது திருமேனியின் ஒளியைக்காட்ட, ஒப்பில் லாத வடிவின் தன்மையைக்கண்டு, தாம் கொண்ட மாறுபாட்டினின்றும் நீங்கினார்கள். ஆனதினாலே அழகிய வடிவே செல்வத்தை ஊட்டும் நெறி. எங்ஙனம் அவனின் உருவப் பொலிவால் அவனின் பகைவர் அவன் வயமானாரோ, அங்ஙனமே உம் பகைவர் உம்மைக்கண்ட அளவிலேயே வெருண்டு மாறுகோடலை

[6] Kindly look up supplementary note 3 at the very end of this article. "ff" means "the following verses."

ஒழிவாராயின், நீர் உமது செல்வத்தை யாதுமோரு இடையூறின்றி துய்க்கலாமன்றே !

[The last sentence in the above com. is my own, in the spirit of the author].

To understand this text thoroughly, we must examine these points:

(*a*) *Viṣṇu's personal characteristics.* As distinguished from the other Vedic deities, he is a personification of the light, especially that of the Sun. Hence his name "Viṣṇu" from "viṣ", meaning "All-pervader". He is mentioned in the Rig-Veda as striding over the heavens in *three paces,* which designate the three daily stations of the Sun in his rising, culminating at the zenith, and setting. In the post-Vedic period, the distinguishing feature in Viṣṇu's character is his condescending to become incarnate in a portion of his essence on ten principal occasions to deliver mankind from certain great dangers. His paradise is called Vaikuṇṭha. He is usually represented with a peculiar mark on his breast called Śrī-vatsa, probably after Śrī or Lakṣmī, his chief wife and consort. His shining, brilliant appearance is recalled in our text here in the words: "viḷaṅku oḷi kāṭṭa" and "uruvu", in lines b and d respectively, of stanza 301, which I have just cited.

(*b*) *Viṣṇu's weapons.* He is represented as holding a śaṅkha or conch-shell called Pāñcajanya, a cakra or quoit-like missile-weapon called Sudarśana, a gadā or club called Kaumodakī, a bow called Śārṅga and *a sword called Nandaka.* It is to this sword that Paḷ. 301(a) calls attention. In the MBh. epic, Kṛṣṇa is often called Nandakin,

i.e. the possessor of Nandaka. In a similar manner Paḻ. calls him the expert warrior with this sword: the Com. gives us its name. Cf. "vāḷ" in the text and "nāntakam" in the com.

(c) *Viṣṇu's foes.* The demons slain by him in his character of "preserver from evil" are *Madhu*, Dhēnuka, Cāṇura, Yamala, Arjuna, Kālanēmi, Hayagrīva, Śakaṭa, Ariṣṭa, *Kaiṭabha,* Kēśin, Mura, Śālva, Mainda, Dvivida, Rāhu, Hiraṇyakaśipu, Bāṇa, Kāḷiya, Naraka, Bali, quite a formidable list. The text of Paḻ. 301 a–c does not specify the foes of Viṣṇu in this incident; but the Com. specifies Madhu and Kaiṭabha. Madhu, at M.L. p. 3059 and M.W. p. 779, is the name of two Asuras, the one killed by Viṣṇu, the other by Satrughna, in MBh. Hariv. and Pur. Kaiṭabha, at M.L. p. 1104 and M.W. p. 311, is an Asura, slain by Viṣṇu, in MBh. 3; Hariv. etc.

12. Another instance where Viṣṇu is mentioned in our work is Paḻ. 177b-c:—

. . . . **கொற்றப்புள்**
ஊர்ந்துலகம் தாவின அண்ணலே ஆயினும். . . .

The Com. states:—வெற்றியையுடைய **கருடன்** மீது ஏறி வீற்றிருந்து, உலகத்தைத் தாவியளந்த பெருமைபொருந்திய திருமாலேயாயினும் . . . . . திருமால் முதலியோரும் தமக்கு ஊதியம் பயப்பதாயின் பழிபாவம் பாரார்.

To grasp the full significance of this, we must examine the following items:—

(a) *Viṣṇu's "vāhanam" or favourite vehicle, "garuḍa".* This was a mythical bird, chief of the feathered race and enemy of the serpents, which it devoured. Hence its name "garuḍa", which means "devourer". At MBh. I, 1239 ff. we find this anecdote about Garuḍa:—He was the

son of Kaśyapa and Vinatā. Shortly after his birth, he frightened the gods by his brilliant lustre. They supposed him to be Agni, the god of fire, and requested his protection. He first brought the Soma plant from the lofty heights of the Mujavat peak in the Himālaya and gave it to the Vedic Āryans, who were thus enabled to perform the Soma sacrifice. In MBh. I. Ch. 33, Garuḍa is said to have vied with the Sun for supremacy. He aspired to be the lord of the Dēvas; but Viṣṇu persuaded him to submit to the Dēvas, and in return for this homage to the gods on Garuḍa's part, Viṣṇu promised him that he would always be perched over Viṣṇu's head. It was thus that Garuḍa came to occupy a place atop Viṣṇu's throne or chariot. Hence we are not surprised when Paḷ. 177 calls him the "regal bird: Koṟṟappuḷ".

(*b*) *Viṣṇu's three strides.* These are often mentioned in the Vedas, especially at RV. I. 22 : 17–18 :—

idám víṣṇur vícakramē trēdhā́ nidadhē
padám sámulhamasya pāṃsurḗ:

trīṇi padā́ vícakramē viṣṇur gōpā́ ádābhyaḥ
áto dhármāṇi dhāráyan.

This I translate below :—

(verse 17) This Viṣṇu strode; in a threefold manner he put his foot down, arranged in his dusty place.

(verse 18) Viṣṇu *strode three steps,* the trusty guardian.
likewise the one who fixes the ordinances firmly.

At Rigveda I. 154, in every one of its six stanzas, *one or other* of the three steps of Viṣṇu is eulogized; in stanzas 1, 2, 3 and 4, all the three steps are mentioned. The reader who wishes to pursue this item further should read A. C. Das: Rig-Vedic India, 1921, pp. 544–548: *Visnu's Three strides.* Pal. 177c sums up this aspect of Viṣṇu's personality very concisely in this apt phrase: "ulakam tāviṉa aṇṇal" = "the Lord who *strode over the world*". We now bid him "adieu" and the readers "au revoir".

Supplementary Note–1. In connexion with 9 (a) above, I intended at first to give a footnote: but as this would work out to more than a page, it could not conveniently be so inserted. Hence I am giving this incident, and similar incidents, explanations and comparisons, as supplementary notes. This one is taken from the Viṣṇu Purāṇa as translated by H. H. Wilson, 3rd edition, Calcutta, 1961, pages 420–421.

Indra, being thus disappointed of his offerings, was exceedingly angry, and thus addressed a cohort of his attendant clouds: "Hear ye my words. The insensate cowherd, Nanda, has withheld the usual offerings to us, relying upon the protection of Kṛṣṇa. Now therefore afflict the cattle with rain and wind. Mounted upon my elephant, I will aid you in strengthening the tempest". The clouds, obedient to Indra's commands, came down at once in a fearful storm of rain and wind to destroy the cattle, which were the sustenance of these cowherds. In an instant the earth, the points of the horizon and the sky were all blended into one by the heavy and incessant shower. The clouds roared aloud, as if in

terror of the lightning's scourge, and poured down uninterrupted torrents. The whole earth was enveloped in impenetrable darkness by the thick and voluminous clouds. Above, below and on every side the world was water. (Now the reader should be able to grasp the full significance of the words of Paḻ. 42a :—aviṟku arumpaṉi tāṅkiya)

The cattle, pelted by the storm, shrunk cowering into the smallest size, or gave up their breath. Some covered their calves with their flanks, and some beheld their young ones carried away by the flood. Trembling in the wind, the calves looked piteously at their mothers, or implored in low moans, as it were, the succour of Kṛṣṇa. Hari, beholding all Gokula agitated with alarm, cowherds, cowherdesses and cattle all in a state of consternation, thus reflected: "This is the work of the great Indra, in resentment of the prevention by me of his sacrifice. Thus it is iucumbent on me to defend this station of herdsmen. I will lift up this spacious mountain from its strong base and hold it up, as a large umbrella, over the cowpens".

Having thus determined, Kṛṣṇa immediately plucked up the mountain, Gōvardhana, and held it aloft with one hand, in sport, saying to the herdsmen: "Lo! the mountain is on high. Enter beneath it quickly, and it will shelter you from the storm" Upon this all the people, with their herds and their waggons and goods and the Gōpīs, distressed by the wind and rain, repaired to the shelter of the mountain, which Kṛṣṇa held steadily over their heads.. ... For seven days and night did the vast clouds, sent by' Indra, rain upon the Gōkula of Nanda to

destroy its inhabitants, but they were protected by the lifting up of the mountain. At length being foiled in his purpose, Indra commanded the clouds to cease. His threats having been fruitless and the heavens becoming clear, all Gōkula came forth from its shelter and returned to its own abode. Then Kṛṣṇa, in the sight of the surprised inhabitants of the forest,' restored the great mountain, Gōvardhana ('the fosterer of cows') to its original site". [Now we understand the full force of Pal̲. 42b:—mālaiyume kōvir̲ku kōvalan̲ en̲r̲-ulakam kūr̲um-āl]. Thus this passage from the viṣṇu Purāṇa throws a flood of light on the mythological incident, which is so concisely described in the first two lines of Pal̲. 42.

Supplementary Note–2. Porunai, like Tol̲unai, is the name of a river, as is evident from even a cursory reading of the texts concerned:—Cilap. 28 : 126, தண் ஆன்பொருநை; Pur̲a N. 11 : 5 தண் பொரு நைப் புனல் பாயும்; 387 : 34 கல்லென் பொருநை மணல்; Pur̲a N. 36 : 5 தண் ஆன் பொருநை வெண்மணல் சிதைய. The Dravidian root "poru" means "to meet, join, unite" and comes in very handy to connote a *river,* whose waters blend with those of the sea much better than those of drains, gutters and sewers, the "aṅkaṇam" of Nālaṭi 175:—

> ஊர் அங்கணநீர் உரவுநீர்ச் சேர்ந்தக்கால்
> பேரும் பிறிதாகித் தீர்த்தமாம்.

From "poru", with the help of two ancient verbs, which later became particles namely "un" and "āy" > "ai", was formed the name of this river, or rather rivers, at least two in number: the one termed "ān̲ porunai", as at Pur̲a N. 36 : 5 (above) and Aka N. 93 : 23 தண் ஆன் பொருநை மணலினும் பலவே; and the other, the Tāmraparṇi, in Tamil

தாமிர பரணி. The former is in the Cēra country, near Karūr, the latter in the Pāṇḍiyan kingdom. Cf. M.L. pages 2934 and 260. On its page 1838 the latter is spelt as தாமிர பருணி. Similarly, from "toḻu" an ancient variant of "toṭu", [just as "iḻi" = to descend, be degraded, come down to small proportions, as at Naṟṟ. 114 : 12; Aka N. 66 : 13; 384 : 8; Kuṟ. 964a, b; Nāl. 79a; Paḻ. 15c; Tol. Por. 469 : 2, 474 : 3, is a simple verbal varient of the causative "iṭi", as at Cīv. 592b,] is formed "toḻunai", which seems to parallel the Sanskritic equivalent "yamunā", as regards its semantic origins. It is quite evident to any one travelling in that region of North-East India that the Yamunā is *the twin brother* of the Gaṅgā, both as regards their size, as the largest rivers, and the eastward direction of their flow. It is in this geographical fact that one must see the origin of the name "Yamunā": for, from Rigvedic, if not earlier, times. "yamá" means a twin. Cf. Latin "gemini." The connexion between "yam" = to hold back, curb (M.W. p. 845) and "yama" (M.W. p. 846), is brought out tersely in Grassmann's Worterbuch zum Rig-veda p. 1096, *yamá,* von **yam** in der Bedeutung "*verbinden*", (1) verbunden, verschwistert, als–Zwillinge *gepaart*. In this sense "yamá" occurs at RV. 164 : 15; 230 : 2; 411 : 4 and 500 : 2 *adjectivally*. It is in this signification that "toḻunai" in Tamil, or rather in proto-Dravidian, is rendered "yamunā" in Sanskrit. I have shown above that the bases of each of these words, "toḻ"—and "yam"—have, each in its own language, the same meaning of "being linked together as a pair": "*gepaart*". The formatives that are added to this base are iden-

tical in both words, if we reflect that Sanskrit dreads "ai" as the ending of words and changes it to "—ā" final, as Tam. mālai > Sk. mālā. Cf. the Tam. words "alar", "malar" = to bloom, as a flower. Thus "yam-un-ā" is the exact equivalent of "toḻ-un-ai". Now, these formatives have *no significance in Sanskrit,* whereas they are *very significant in Dravidian.* Hence it is clear that in this case, as in several others, Sanskrit has borrowed its geographical names from the Dravidian tongues which were spoken on the banks of the Kaṅkai (Gaṅgā) and Toḻunai (yamunā) at least till 1,500, B.C.

Supplementary Note 3A. Kṛṣṇa here closely resembles the Scottish hero, the brave young Lochinvar, whose exploit Sir Walter Scott narrates below:—

O young Lochinvar is come out of the west.........
But ere he alighted at Netherby gate,
The bride had consented, the gallant came late.........
So boldly he entered the Netherby Hall,
Among bride'smen and kinsmen, and brothers, and all...
"I long woo'd your daughter, my suit you denied......
And now am I come, with this lost love of mine
To lead but one measure, drink one cup of wine".
The bride kissed the goblet, the knight took it up;
He quaffed off the wine, and he threw down the cup.
She looked down to blush, and she looked up to sigh,
With a smile on her lips, and a tear in her eye.
He took her soft hand...............................
One touch to her hand, and one word in her ear,
When they reached the hall-door, and the charger stood near;
So light to the croupe the fair lady he swung,
So light to the saddle before her he sprung;
"She is won! we are gone, over bank, bush and scaur,
They'll have fleet steeds that follow", quoth young Lochinvar.

3B. Another British parallel to this is found in the English ballad which graphically describes how the Lord of Ulva, like the brave Lochinvar, carried off Lord Ullin's daughter.

1. "A Chieftain to the Highlands bound
Cries, "Boatman, do not tarry;
And I will give thee a silver pound
To row us over the ferry".

2. Now who be ye, would cross Lochgyle,
This dark and stormy water?"
"O I'm the *chief of Ulva's* isle,
And this *Lord Ullin's daughter.*

3. And fast before her father's men
Three days we have fled together,
For should he find us in the glen,
My blood would stain the heather".

THOMAS CAMPBELL.

Efficient Methods of Telegraphy, Typewriting and Teleprinting in Tamil

GIFT SIROMONEY

i. Telegraphy:

Sending a message in a given language by the most efficient way is a problem in Communication Engineering. The message can be communicated using on arbitrary code made up of dots and dashes, but the method will not be efficient even though it may be practicable. For instance, a passage in Tamil can be written in the Roman script and transmitted in the same way as a passage in English is, using the Morse code. This method is practicable and it can be easily shown that it is not efficient.

The Morse code used for transmitting message in English is an efficient method for the English language of the days of Morse. It was originally based on the frequencies of the letters of the alphabet in English. For example, the letter *e* is the most frequent letter in English and it is represented by a dot (·). *z* however, occurs very infrequently and it is represented by a long sequence of dots and dashes (- - · ·). *For the most efficient method of coding, the more frequently a letter occurs in a language, the shorter should be its code symbol.* The frequencies of the letters in English are quite different from those in Tamil. *Therefore, for the most efficient and economic method of sending a message, there must be a separate code for Tamil.*

One method is to give a separate symbol in dots and dashes for each of the 247 letters in Tamil. For one thing, this involves a tremendous amount of mental effort on the operator, to remember 247 *long* sequences of dots and dashes which include about 120 sequences of length 7 units. Out of the 247 letters, 216 (Uyirmei) are combinations of the 30 (12 vowels + 18 consonants) basic letters excluding the auxiliary (aitham), For the combination க் + அ, we have the symbol க but அ + க் is not represented by a separate letter in Tamil. A statistical study shows that the combinations of vowel (Uyir) following a consonant, (Mei) and a consonant following a vowel, are equally frequent. This means that அ + க் must be represented by a sequence of dots and dashes in the code if க் + அ is represented by a separate sequence. When the telegraphic system is manually operated, we have to find some other method where the number of symbols will not be large.

It is possible to reduce the number of symbols from 247 to about 60 different symbols as in the case of the Tamil typewriter. I have worked out the relative frequencies of these symbols (Fig. 2) and the shortest code symbol must be assigned to the most frequent letter and so on to obtain efficiency in coding. To transmit க், க may be transmitted first, followed by the symbol ·. For transmitting கி, க may be followed by the ி, as is the practice in writing Tamil.

A third method is to take the basic 30 letters of 12 vowels and 18 consonants. The word *A M M A:* will be treated as a four-letter one.

which is treated as the three-letter word when the 247 letter alphabet is used. The frequencies of the different letters, which may be treated as the 30 basic sounds in Tamil, are given in Fig. 1, along with the code symbols suggested by me.

Each symbol is represented by a sequence of dots and dashes, whose length does not exceed 4 units. This method compares favourable with the Morse code, for English and our code represents the quickest and the most economical method of transmitting messages in Tamil.

In practice, a few more symbols, (including Aitham, the Grantha letters, numerals and period) will have to be represented by sequences of dots and dashes of length 5 units.

ii. Typewriting :

With the introduction of Tamil as the medium of official communication in Madras state, the need for a Tamil typewriter was keenly felt and in 1958, the Government of Madras approved a " standardised " keyboard. Accepting the different symbols and letters in this keyboard, we shall analyse here, whether the arrangement is efficient and whether it is possible to increase the speed of typing by changing the positions of some of the keys.

The total number of symbols used on the keyboard is 69, which are sufficient to type all the letters (except ஞு and ஞூ which occur mostly in Tamil primers) including Aitham and the usual Grantha letters. For typing the Tami letters,

alone, there are 62 symbols arranged on 31 keys. 32 keys cover all letters, a comma and a period. Half the symbols are in the upper casing and the others in the lower casing. As in the English typewriter, the shift key has to be pressed before typing the letters in the upper casing. The letter க் is typed by typing first the dot (˙) and then the letter க. It is so arranged that the typewriter carriage does not move after the dot is typed. There are three such "dead stops". For typing கி, கீ, ˥ and ᵍ are typed first and then க.

As the number of symbols increases, the effort to remember these various positions increases. Compared to English, the effort is much greater in Tamil. To reduce the effort, the keyboard is constructed in such a way that there is a certain amount of regularity. For instance, ஓ and ஒ, க and கு are arranged in the same key. However there is no general rule such as in English, where the capital letters and the corresponding small letters belong to the same key.

To overcome the greater effort needed for remembering the 62 symbols, the learning period for a typist, must be increased. Once one is thoroughly trained, there should be little difficulty in remembering the different positions. Even if the initial difficulties are greater, that system which will give the faster speed must be adopted. This principle is generally accepted (if it were not so, the keyboard would be in the direct alphabetic order, starting with a, a: , from the top left hand corner) but not systematically put to practical use.

Therefore it is necessary that *the letters which occur very frequently should be arranged in the most advantageous positions on the keyboard.* This implies that the least frequent letters should be put in the upper casing thereby reducing the number of times the shift key has to be used. Among the letters which occur frequently, the most frequent letters should be arranged in such a way that they may be operated by the forefingers and the middle fingers in the middle rows of the typewriter.

To find out what letters are frequent and what are not, a statistical study was undertaken by me, to get reliable figures. The result is based on a sample taken using random sampling techniques. Only the prose works were considered and the frequencies are based on about 500,000 pages published in Madras State during 1946—57. More than 20,000 letters were counted to make sure of the reliability of the frequencies. In Fig. II, the number in the brackets gives the number of times the letter occurs (subject to fluctuations of sampling) in a sample of 10,000 symbols. For example, in a passage of length 10,000 letters, one may expect ரு to occur 128 times and று 68 times. In actual practice, the figures may not give the exact result but they will be very close. The larger the sample, the closer will be the approximation.

து occurs 155 times, ரு 128 times, கு 106 times and டு 81 times. All these are in the upper casing and it means that the shift key has to be used before typing out each letter. On the other hand, ஞு occurs once, ஓ 27 times, உ 59

times and டி 67 times. All these are in the lower casing. To minimise the use of shift keys (and to increase the speed of typing) து, ரு, கு and டு must be brought to the lower casing and லு, ஒ, உ and டி transferred to the upper casing.

The dot used for all the pure consonants like க், ங், . . . is the most frequent symbol occurring 1848 times. This makes the little finger of the right hand, the most hard-worked. Also, the symbol ா has a high frequency of 645 to be typed by the same little finger. If these symbols are operated by the middle finger, for instance, the fatigue on the little finger will be reduced and the speed may be increased.

In English, the space bar is more frequently used than the most frequent letter E. In Tamil, however, the dot is used about 39% more often than the space bar, and some adjustment has to be made in the Tamil typewriter. It will be worthwhile constructing a keyboard, where the dot can be typed using part of the "bar" used for "space." For example, the bar can be divided into three equal sections and the middle portion used for the dot, so that it may be operated by either of the thumbs.

The bar (-) and the question mark (?) need not be kept so close to the other letters but put on a key to the extreme right. This will increase the compactness and all the necessary keys will be near the guide row. It is possible to make some more improvements by studying the frequencies given in Fig. II.

iii. Teleprinter :

For the purposes of constructing a teleprinter, the number of symbols must be drastically reduced. One solution is to do away with the Uyirmei and have the 30 basic letters only. One may even leave out the two dipthongs. Then the present English teleprinter can easily be converted to Tamil. It is very doubtful whether this suggestion will be accepted.

A more acceptable solution will be to reduce the number of symbols used in the present keyboard. றா, ணா, னா are not frequent. They may be removed and written as றா, ணா and னா. Similarly தூ, நூ,... may be written as தூ, நூ,... thereby removing the symbol ா. A new symbol ு may be introduced to take care of து, று, லு,... It must fit in with த, ந,...to give து, நு,... ஆ can be removed and written as அ + ு. If a new symbol ு is introduced, we can do away with ரு, ரூ, ஞு,... By this method 15 symbols can be omitted and the number of symbols is reduced to 47. For sending numbers some convention must be agreed upon as to what letters should represent each numeral (Fig. IV) and the Tamil numerals must be used following the decimal system. 320 will be written as ௩ ௨ O where O is a new symbol.

In the modern English teleprinters, 52 symbols can be printed and with our 47 symbols for Tamil letters, we can choose 5 more useful symbols, like the period, zero, Grantha letters like ஸ and ஜ or some other symbols for Tamil numerals. Then the Grantha letters ஷ, ஹ and க்ஷ

may be obtained by using the symbols உ, ீ, ூ, கூ combining them in suitable ways. Letters like ஜா, ஜௌ, ஷா, ஷௌ can be represented by equivalent symbols. For instance, ஜா can be printed as ஜ்உ. The keyboards designed by the author are given in Figs. VI and VII.

In the Hindi teleprinter, 54 symbols can be printed, including the 10 Arabic numerals, 0, 1, 2,... 9. It must be possible to adapt such a keyboard to Tamil, provided the number of symbols for printing Tamil letters can be reduced to 44. ஏ and ர may be represented as combinations of எ, ா and a new symbol /. சு can be represented as ச if the symbol | in பு is replaced by a longer symbol | . Instead of the separate symbol டு, we may have to use a combination of ட and ு. சு and டு as suggested here are very similar to the corresponding characters in the Raja Raja Chola's Tamil script. Now the total number of symbols reduces to 44 and the Hindi teleprinter can easily be converted into a Tamil one. In this case the Grantha letters ஷ, ஜ and their combinations cannot be represented.

The counting experiment, using random sampling techniques, was conducted under the supervision of Dr. W. F. Kibble, Professor of Mathematics, Madras Christian College and the late Dr. R. P. Sethu Pillai was consulted at various stages for the experiment. The methods given are quite general and they can be applied to other languages also. The work on some Dravidian languages is being started in our Department of Mathematics, Madras Christian College, Tambaram.

FIG. I. FREQUENCIES OF SOUNDS AND THEIR PROPOSED CODE SYMBOLS FOR TAMIL

Sound	Frequency	Code	Sound	Frequency	Code
a	150	·	t	27	· · · -
k	79	-	c	22	· · - ·
i	78	· ·	l:	21	· - · ·
u	77	· -	nh	21	- · · ·
th	71	- ·	e	18	· · - -
a:	47	- -	e:	13	· - · -
r	45	· · ·	n:	11	- · · -
p	44	· · -	o	10	· - - ·
m	42	· - ·	o:	7	- · - ·
n	38	- · ·	l-	7	- - · ·
t:	36	· - -	ng	6	· - - -
v	35	- · -	i:	4	- · - -
l	31	- - ·	u:	4	- - · -
y	29	- - -	nj	1	- - - ·
ai	27	· · · ·	au	1	- - - -
				1000	

FIG. II. POSITION OF SYMBOLS AND THEIR CORRESPONDING FREQUENCIES ON THE STANDARD KEYBOARD

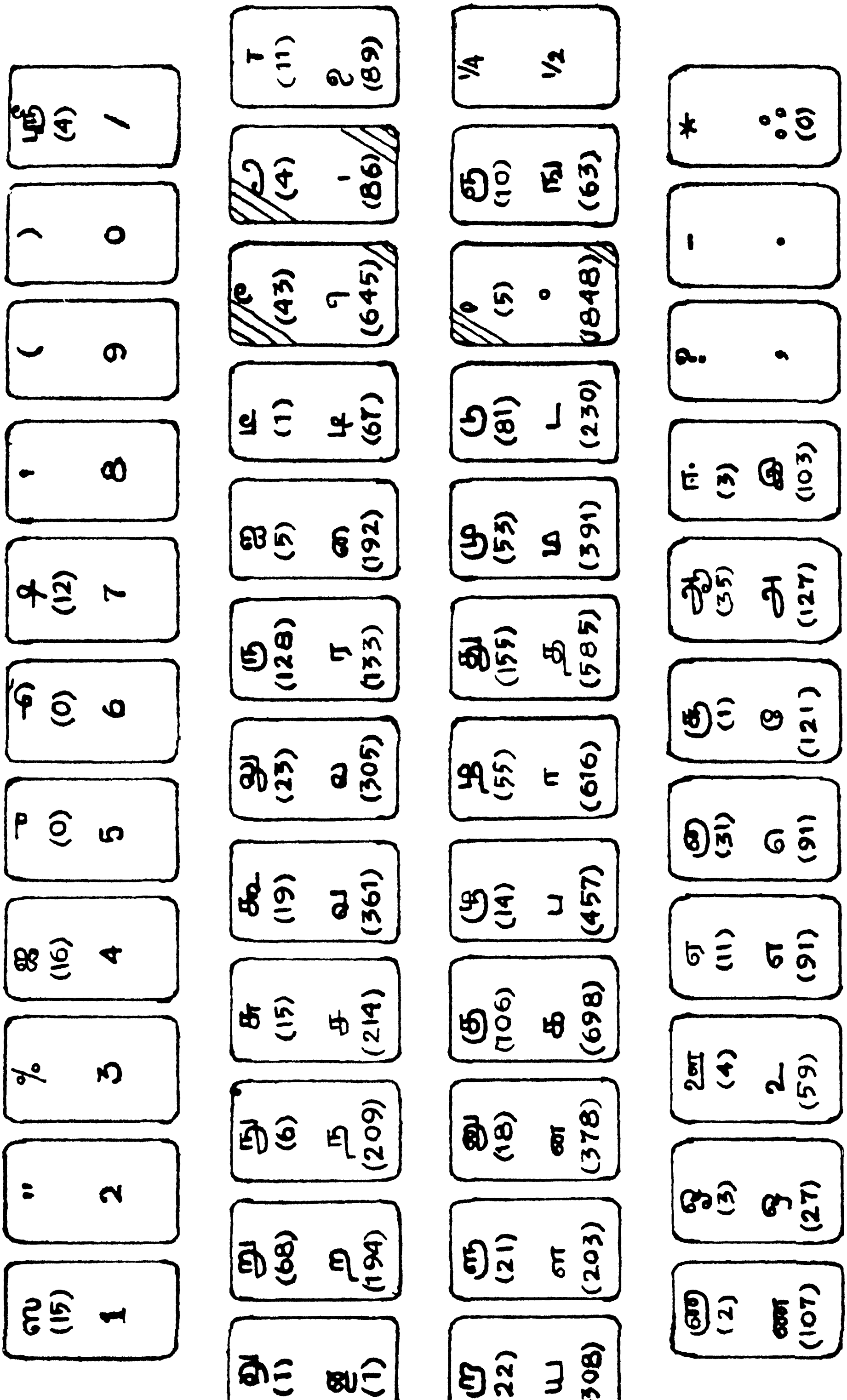


FIG. III. REDUCTION OF NUMBER OF LETTERS FOR THE TELEPRINTER

ு and ூ to be introduced as dead keys and ா and ? to be removed.

Present symbol		Method of combination				New symbol
ணை, ணூ	=	ண	+	ூ	=	ணூ
றூ	=	ற	+	ூ	=	றூ
நூ	=	ந	+	ூ	=	நூ
லூ	=	ல	+	ூ	=	லூ
ரு	=	ர	+	ு	=	ரு
றா	=	ற	+	ா	=	றா
ளு	=	ள	+	ு	=	ளு
னூ	=	ன	+	ூ	=	னூ
தூ	=	த	+	ூ	=	தூ
எு	=	எ	+	ு	=	எு
ணு	=	ண	+	ு	=	ணு (or ண + ா = ணா)
னு	=	ன	+	ு	=	னு (or ன + ா = னா)
கு	=	க	+	ு	=	கு
ஆ	=	அ	+	ு	=	ஆ

FIG. IV. PROPOSED CONVENTION FOR NUMERALS

1	=	க	6	=	ள
2	=	உ	7	=	எ
3	=	ங	8	=	அ
4	=	ச	9	=	ன
5	=	ரு or ௫	0		New symbol.

FIG. V. FURTHER REDUCTION OF SYMBOLS

The symbol | can be lengthened upwards and a new symbol ⁄ introduced.

Present symbol	Method of combination			=	New symbol
ரு	ா	+	⁄	=	ரு
ஏ	எ	+	⁄	=	ஏ
ஈ	ச	+	|	=	ஈ
டு	ட	+	ு	=	டு

FIG. VI. TELEPRINTER KEYBOARD (MODEL I)

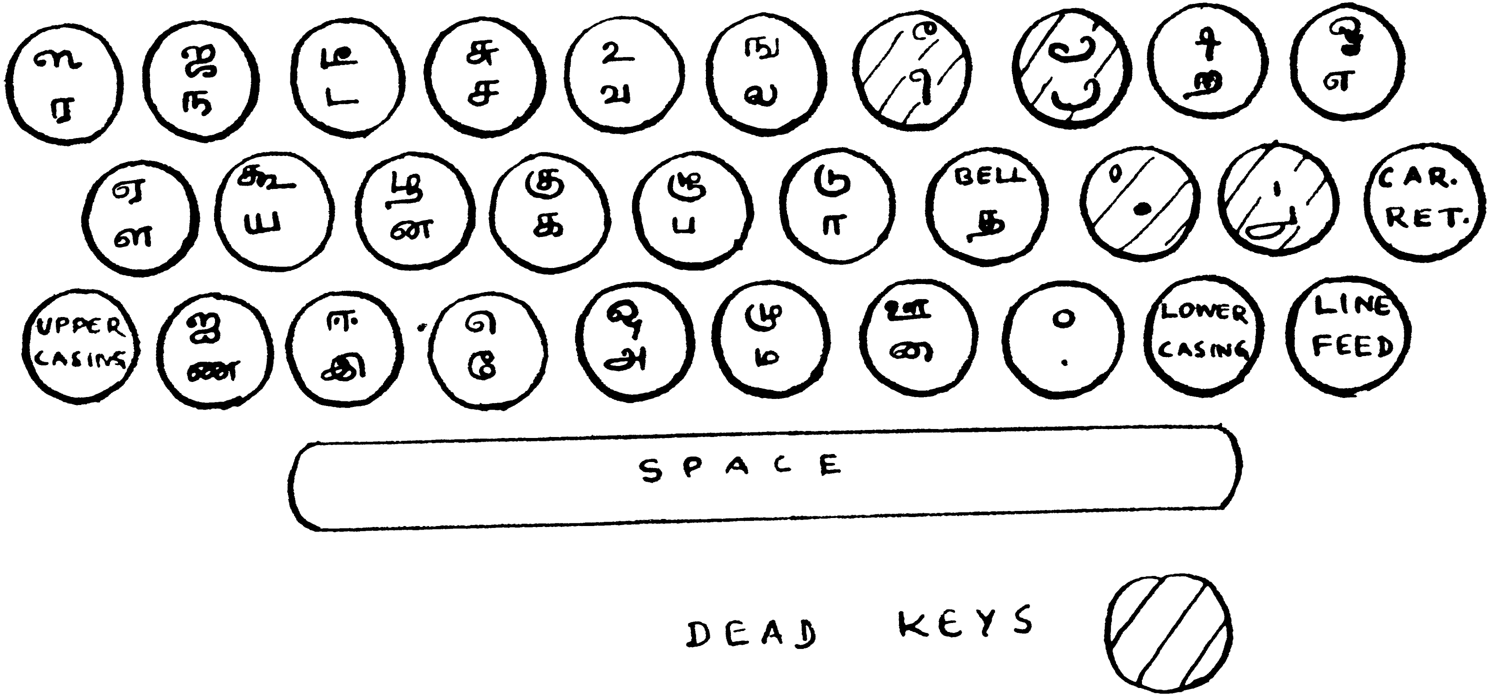
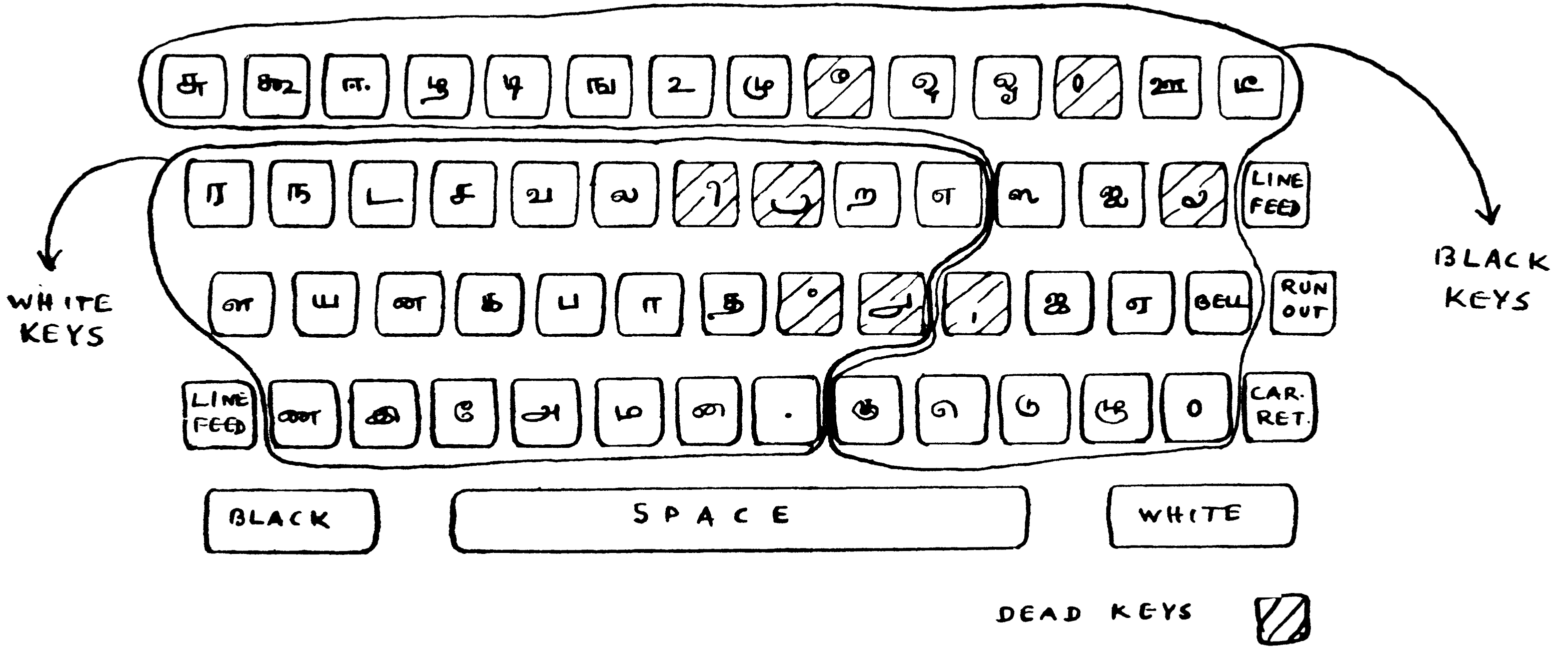


Fig. VII. TELEPRINTER KEYBOARD (Model II)



Where did the Dravidians come from?

T. BALAKRISHNAN NAYAR

The problem of Dravidian origins is first, how to determine the original area of Dravidian speech in India and secondly, how to define both the region and the relative date at which the Dravidian-speakers entered the country.

It has been recognised for long that even a partial solution of the problem would require the correlation of linguistic, anthropological, and archaelogical data. Linguistic palaeontology definitely rules out the possibility of their having been the oldest inhabitants of the land.

In fact, in common with the inhabitants of all the countries, there lie unmistakable periods of mostly unknown content behind the Dravidian-speakers of India and they are to be considered old immigrants from beyond India long before the Indo-European speakers arrived. In their advance from the north-west they left a trail behind them, a delta of Dravidian speech in the Brahui of Baluchistan which shows still so many traces of old relationship with the Dravidian, though it has been separated since so long from its cousins in the south. The Baluchis and the Brahuis differ markedly from each other in their head-length, head-breadth, stature and other valid physical characteristics.

LOAN-WORDS

The Dravidian family of speech is polysyllabic and agglutinative and comprises within its ambit languages called Tamil, Telugu, Canarese, Malayalam, Tulu, Kodagu, Toda, Kota, Gondi, Kui, Kurukh, Brahui, Kolami, Parji, Naiki, Gadba, Ollari, Konda and Pengo. Linguistic pre-history proves that Dravidian-speakers had been living in the

country long before the advent of the first Indo-Aryan-speakers. Prof. Burrow has located as many as twenty Dravidian words in the Rg. Veda, the evidence of which would show the presence of the Dravidian-speakers in the upper regions of the Indus, where the majority of hymns of the Rg. Veda were composed.

In fact, on the basis of Dravidian loan-words in the Rg. Veda, Manfred Meyrhofer thinks that among the early peoples met by the Indo-European speakers in India were the Dravidian-speakers. The linguistic study of the vocabulary of the Rg. Veda at the hands of Kuiper showed that this ancient literary composition of the Indo-European speakers of India contained a large number of loan-words some of which were Dravidian.

While the main concentration of the Dravidian family of speech is now in South India, the existence of Brahui in Baluchistan and the occurrence of the Dravidian words even in the Rg. Veda at once confirm the theory that before the advent of the Indo-European speakers the Dravidian-speakers were in occupation of a considerably large area of the country including portions of North and North-West India. Dravidian influence is found not only in the vocabulary of the Indo-Aryan but also in its grammatical structure.

AGRICULTURAL ECONOMY

The influence of one language on another means co-existence of the two in the same region for a fairly long period of time. The loan-words in the Rg. Veda, however, are not all Dravidian; some are Munda. So in the land to which they came the Rg. Vedic Aryans found besides the Dravidian-speakers, also the Munda-speakers.

Dravidian loan-words in the Rg. Veda would indicate that when the Indo-European speakers first met them in the Punjab the economy of the Dravidian-speakers was primarily agricultural. They lived in houses and therefore were accustomed to settled ways of life. The fact that the mortar

used by the Rg. Vedic Aryans in connection with the preparation of the soma bears a Dravidian name may presumably mean that the soma itself was a Dravidian beverage. Other items in the repertoire of the life of the Dravidian-speakers at this early period probably included wearing of garlands or diadems on the head, of matted hair held up in a coil on the summit of the head, and the practice of offering gifts (to their Gods) besides the worship of Agastya—as their Kultur-hero.

The diffusion of the languages of the Dravidian family over the lands lying beyond the Hindukush in the north and the Makran in the west was largely a matter of conjecture until Lahovary published his book on the diffusion of the ancient languages of the Near East and their relations with the Basque, Dravidian and the primitive Indo-European languages of the Near East in 1957.

UNITY SHATTERED

Lahovary's study of the linguistic substrata of the Mediterranean and peri-Mediterranean world has demonstrated that Dravidian is not an isolated lingustic group but the survivor of an "incorporating and polysynthetic family of peri-Mediterranean, pre-Hamito-Semitic languages which covered without a break a vast zone of the Near East some four or five thousand years ago." According to him again the Sumerian, Hurrian, Elamite, Cappadocian, Carian, Pelasgian and Ligurian were, all of them, ancient dialects of the same family though they are no longer alive.

The unity of the family was shattered under the pressure of the Semites, the Indo-Aryans and many other peoples at various epochs and its surviving representatives are the Basque, the Caucasian and the Dravidian. "Between the Basque and the Caucasian", he says, "there is no genetic kinship, their relationship being that of collaterals". But between the Basque and the Dravidian now separated by great distance, Lahovary has found numerous phonetic, linguistic and morphological ties of the closest character.

It will be of interest to reproduce here Lahovary's picture of the culture of the Dravidian-speakers based on the words which are common today to Dravidian and to the Basque, Caucasian and Couchitic. On their arrival in India the Dravidians raised sheep, oxen, pigs and asses. They spun and wove wool and probably other kinds of fibre and had in their houses ducks and no doubt other domestic birds such as pigeons, doves and peacocks. They could also build their houses of wood. They named their towns and villages and they appear to have lived under local chiefs or kings. Their religion was based on agriculture with rites celebrating fertility. They believed in resurrection and in the eternal recurrence of life. They could till the land and they planted fruit trees though few in number; and it seems that stock-farming played a greater part than agriculture. There is little evidence that this civilisation was martial and there seems to have been no name for any instrument or weapon made of metal but pottery and viticulture, on the contrary, were known.

HOMOGENEOUS

The centre of the Neolithic civilisation and the centre of civilisations of the early metal ages, it is now generally accepted, was the Near East. The first farming communities were those of Jarmo in North Mesopotamia and Jericho in Palestine. Through successive migrations the Neolithic farmers of the Near East spread westward into Europe through the Balkans, the Aegean and North Africa and eastward into India through Iran.

The numerous cemeteries which the migrant Neolithic people from the Near East have left behind in Greece, Rumania, Serbia, Hungary and in Western Europe generally were found to contain a homogeneous race of the Mediterranean type. The emigration of the proto-Dravidians to North India according to Lahovary took place in the fourth millennium B.C. He would include in the first wave of immigrants from the Near East the Basques, the Caucasians and the Dravidians and "starting from the same centre of

civilisation speaking the same type of language and representing on the whole the same human race ", he says, " there is nothing strange in the linguistic and cultural similarities that can be found in these various groups originating from the same stock and the same area in course of the same epoch."

After the Neolithic " diaspora ", the Near East gave India two more " diasporas "—the Calcolithic civilisation mainly from Iran and the iron-using Megalithic civilisation mainly from the Caucasus. The most important conclusion that Lahovary finally arrives at is that from Iberia in Spain to India there exists a chain of civilisations, in spite of the more or less pronounced nuances, akin to each other whose rites, customs, religions and toponomy are all alike.

At present linguistic groups do not coincide with uniform racial groups and therefore it is not possible to relate any particular language group to any specific ethnic stock. Nevertheless, where a stable ethnic type in a linguistic group is also a major ethnic type in that group, a not unwarranted inference would be that it was also its original ethnic type.

Race and language

Sir Arthur Keith's dictum that for language to exist there must be mouths to speak it would lead us to the conclusion that in the beginning any language must have been spoken by a people of a particular race though that language may now be spoken by a mongerel group. It is true that Dravidian is a linguistic group and this group taken as a whole does not coincide with any single ethnic type ; but the principal element in the racial composition of the Dravidian-speakers of South India is the dolicocephalic " Mediterranean " of Sewell and Guha.

Guha's application of the principle of the Co-efficient of Racial Likenesses to the study of the somatic affinities of the Indian people has revealed a common dolicocephalic strain underlying the entire population of peninsular and central India and also partially of Gujerat and Bengal. This

dolicocephalic strain has some morphological similarities with the long-headed strain of Northern India. In fact a long-headed element with a high cranial vault which is the dominant element in South India among the Dravidian-speakers is also a principal element in the greater part of the lower strata of the population of Northern India including to some extent, the Punjab.

The Neolithic man of Piklihal (Andhra Pradesh, India) was not unlike the present-day man of the Deccan and the racial type that he represented was what we call the "Mediterranean." In pre-dynastic epoch lower Egypt and the middle valley of the Nile were inhabited by men belonging to this race. The Neolithic skull from Portugal was a variation of this type and the work of numerous physical anthropologists in the Near East has proved that in the Neolithic age, as at the present day, it was the varieties of the Mediterranean race that formed the prevailing ethnic type from the eastern Mediterranean shores to India.

The earliest inhabitants of Baluchistan who practised agriculture in the fourth millennium B.C. according to Fairservis came from Iran and were of Iranian origin and if as seems increasingly clear the Harappan civilisation is but a cultural evolution of the Neolithic civilisation that entered Baluchistan in the fourth millennium B.C. and if as Lahovary has shown there was a polysynthetic, incorporating, family of languages in the Near East including Iran in the Neolithic age—the surviving members of which today are the Basque, the Caucasian and the Dravidian, the assumption of Father Heras that the language spoken by the Harappan was Dravidian is clearly not fantastic. The shift in time between the beginnings of the Neolithic civilisation at Jarmo and in India, which may be of the order of about half a million years, has to be accounted for by the difficult terrain between the centre or centres of its diffusion in the Near East and India. For the beginnings of agriculture at KileGulMuhammad Baluchistan, we have a C 14 date of 5,300 plus—minus 200 B.P. (3,500—3,100 B.C.) not very

much removed in time from the Neolithic at Jarmo. The Neolithic of the Deccan of which Piklihal is a later phase would then be an extension of the Neolithic in Baluchistan although the intermediary links between KileGulMuhammad and Piklihal are uncertain.

Evidence of linguistic and racial pre-history together with the evidence of archaeology would seem to suggest that the original Dravidian-speakers entered India from Iran in the fourth millennium B.C. and that they were still in occupation of the Punjab and north western India when the Indo-Aryan speakers came on the scene in the early centuries of the second millennium B.C. That there was a linguistic unity which included India, Iran and Mesopotamia is also indicated by Dravidian place-names in the latter two regions.

The toponomy of India is in a very large measure derived from the Dravidian-speakers. Clemence Schoener traces a large number of ancient place-names in Afghanistan, the highlands of Persia and the plains of the Euphrates and Tigris to Dravidian. The hydronomy and toponomy of India, Afghanistan, Iran, Caúcasus and of countries lying as far west as Spain would seem to support the linguistic unity of the area postulated by Lahovary.

In fact, scholars have assumed with good reason that there was a non-Indo-European speaking population on the plateau of Iran before the arrival of the Aryan speakers. A common element in the place-names of Iran and Afghanistan is the Dravidian word *malai.* The Dravidian word Ur (Uru) can be traced back to the period of the Sumerians in lower Mesopotamia. Lahovary has shown how the dydronomic names from the root *ar* were extremely widespread in ancient times from the Atlantic to India.

THE MEGALITH-BUILDERS

From the days when Brahmagirl was excavated by Wheeler the obsession of Indian archaeology for a decade was with the Megalith-builders. Of two possibilities, (1) that the earlier Neolithic people were the original Dravidian-

speakers, and (2) that it was the intruding Megalith-builders with their developed iron industry who brought the Dravidian language into the country, Furer Hiamendorf accepts the first.

His thesis is that the people with iron-using Megalithic culture and the people of the Neolithic culture over-run by the former could not have spoken languages of the same family. But this *a priori* position that peoples of different cultures cannot be linguistically related has been contradicted again and again in Indo-European and in other fields as Emeneau has pointed out.

Deshpande would have it that the Megalith-builders of South India were also Dravidian-speakers. The fact that there are many loan-words from the Dravidian in the Rg. Veda automatically rules out Furer Hiamendorf's hypothesis that it was the iron-using Megalith-builders who brought the Dravidian language into the country about the middle of the first millennium B.C.

In the absence of any better claimant, considering that a significant substratum of the modern population of South India can claim ancestry from the first settlers of the Neolithic period, Allchin rightly identifies the Neolithic people of the Deccan with the original Dravidian-speakers, themselves a wave of Dravidian-speakers probably from Baluchistan and the Indus valley.

ODD FINDS

Allchin has found the closest similarity between the ground and pecked stone industry of Piklihal and Bellary and the stone industry from Iran. From Sind and Baluchistan odd finds representing this industry have been reported. Furthermore the blade industry of Piklihal consisting of blades, flakes and cores is in every respect comparable to the blade industry from Neolithic and Chalcolithic settlements throughout the east. He would derive the Deccan Neolithic industry from the Chalcolithic and Neolithic industries of the Indus valley, Baluchistan and Iran.

It is now accepted that in the Neolithic age a nation in mass migration swept over an area stretching from the mountains of Kurdistan to the Mediterranean. The people of Kurdistan then as now belonged to the dolico-cephalic type according to Eickstedt. Of the typological and technological affinities of Indian Neolithic artifacts with those from the Near East from sites like Tepe Hissar, Tepe Gaura, Hashunna and Mersin, and from Egypt and North Africa there can be no doubt and Atkinson rightly says that the more or less simultaneous appearance of tools of a special form or type in widely separated places can hardly be attributed to pure chance.

The area of diffusion of an ancient group of polysynthetic, incorporating languages including Basque, Caucasian and Dravidian noticed by Lahovary coincides with the diffusion of the Mediterranean man and in the light of facts of linguistic palaeontology of India, it will not be unreasonable to suppose that the Dravidian-speakers whose economy was largely agricultural when the Indo-European speakers of the period of the Rg. Veda met them in the Punjab were themselves the descendants of the Neolithic farmers who came to India from the Near East in the fourth millennium B.C.

Unbroken contact

The contact between India and the Near East established in the Neolithic period continued unbroken till long afterwards. The Megalith-builders (particularly those who made the Megaliths with portholes) who came to the country in the beginning of the iron age from the Caucasus, probably were also Dravidian-speaking.

Wheeler spoke of an Indian Ocean culture pool. We should today speak rather of a culture pool which included the whole of the Near East and India, if not also the entire peri-Mediterranean region. Within this unitary culture pool there was movement backwards and forwards. The rockcut tombs of Malabar have their analogues in Israel in the seventh-eighth century. One of the beads from the iron age

graves from Sulur, in Coimbatore district of Madras State, made of wax has been dated by Beck to not later than seventh century B.C. in Mesopotamia. The tripod vases from the rock-cut tombs in Malabar are similar to those from burials at El Hammam, Tell Ahmar and Tell Barsib Syria. The bronze bowls from the cairn-circles of the Nilgiris agree in shape and technique of fabrication with the bronze bowls from Nimroud and Van of the Assyrian period. The concentric circles cutting the upper surface of the Assyrian bowls and their umbilical depressions are found repeated in the Nilgiri bowls. The sixteen petalled rosette and the lotus motifs of a Nilgiri bronze vase have their parallels in the ivory pieces from Nimroud.

The nearest analogues to the Nilgiri cairn-circles are from Bahrein. Most scholars have associated the 'draw wells' and barrows of the Nilgiris with the ancestors of the Todas. Prince Peter has found eleven names of deities of Sumerian origin in use among the Todas at the present day. Assyrian pantheon was generally Sumerian and may be during late Assyrian times there was a trading colony of people from Assyria on the Nilgiris and the Todas are their descendants. Further evidence of the contact between the Near East and South India during the Assyrian period is to be found in the place-name Mouziris on the Malabar coast and in the existence of the people called nairi (nairs) in Kerala. Assyria gave the Shadouf, the water lift called tula, to the Malabar coast.

Origin of rice

Rice has been a puzzle for the palaeo-botanists. Nobody seems to know its origin or when it was first cultivated. Dr. K. Ramiah says "the origin of rice might be traced to South and East India where natural conditions most suitable for producing variability mutations and genic recombinations exist." In this connection it will be of interest to notice that one of the two kinds of rice cultivated in Shiraz (Iran) today is called Champeh which recalls to our minds the name of a familiar variety of rice grown in South India.

The people of the iron age urn-burials of Adichanallur on the Tamraparani river (Tinnevelly district of Madras State) cultivated rice somewhat similar to the short-grained varieties grown in South India today. The iron hoes from Adichanallur have to be derived from Palestine and their prototypes were probably imported into the Tamil country by the Phoenicians, who repaired thither for cassia, cinnamon, almug (Pterocarpus santalinus) so much sought after by the Israelite King Solomon. In their typology and in their method of hafting, the iron hoes from Adichanallur agree with the hoeblades from Gerar in Palestine dated by Petre to 1180 B.C. Gerar also produced gold frontlets decorated with lines of dots similar to gold frontlets from Adichanallur. Gold mouth-pieces from Adichanallur remind us of gold mouth-pieces from Enkomi in Cyprus of the late bronze age. The practice of wearing mouth-pieces by devotees carrying kavadi to the shrine of Murugan on the Palni hills is a survival from Adichanallur days.

The biblical references to products of South Indian origin which Hiram took to Solomon stand confirmed by material objects, if not actually imported from, at any rate undoubtedly inspired by, Palestine and seem to link securely Adichanallur to the absolute chronology of Palestine and Syria of the period of Solomon and also to take back the antiquity of iron and of rice in South India to circa 1000 B.C.

EARTHERN-WARE

The black-and-red ware of Lothal in Saurashtra, of the valleys of Banas and Gambhiri in eastern Rajasthan, Bikaner and the Gangetic basin and also of the megalithic burials in South India was not exclusively an Indian technique. It was practised by the Badarians, Tasians, the Amratians and the people of Merimde representing different cultures in Egypt.

Subba Rao has equated the original Dravidian-speakers with those who made this type of pottery in India. But if as Lucas has demonstrated it is a development of the polish-

ed red-ware and not a less accomplished stage in its manufacture it will be obviously not legitimate to speak in terms of a black-and-red ware culture and attribute it to any specific linguistic group like that of the Dravidian-speakers.

At the habitation site at Tirukkampuliyur (Trichinopoly district of Madras State) the russet-coated painted ware with wavy lines was earlier in point of time than the black-and-red ware. The russet-coated painted ware of Coimbatore and other districts of Madras State with its characteristic wavy lines and technique of engraving enhanced with inlays takes us back to the period of the Hurrians in the Near East.

SEA COMMUNICATION

In the mid-third millennium B.C. there was communication by sea between Sind and Kathiawar on the one hand and between Sind and Mesopotamia on the other along the Persian Gulf (during the period of Sargon of Akkad). The coastal route from the head waters of the Persian Gulf to Sind and further down along the west coast, of India, however, was not discovered for the first time in mid-third millennium B.C.

It represents a route that was already exploited by the Neolithic people in the earlier millennium. It continued to flourish down to the period of the Assyrian kings whose subjects seem to have exploited the timber of Malabar, the gold of Waynad and Nilgiris and the semi-precious stones like Beryl (Assyrian : Burallu) of Coimbatore. Before the Assyrians it was this route again that brought the megaliths to peninsular India. In this coastal route not all the landing points were touched by all.

SINGLE CULTURE POOL

Our study of Dravidian origins has taken us beyond India, to the Near East, Egypt, North Africa and the western shores of the Mediterranean and we have found that south western Asia, Iran and India formed a single culture

pool since Neolithic times down to the period of the Assyrians.

Within this single culture pool ideas and objects travelled to and fro. The sketch of a barn-door cock from Egypt of the 18th dynasty shows that there was so much communication with India that an indigenous Indian bird was so much known in Egypt as to have been sketched. Thothmes III clearly had hens. Throughout India river-craft as pointed out by Hornell are very archaic in their general features resembling ancient Egyptian and Mesopotamian types so closely that they vivify scenes on the Nile and the Tigris in the time of Rameses and Assuroanipal.

The Palaeolithic man crossed continents half a million years ago, so too his successors the Upper-Palaeolithic and Mesolithic men. Amongst animals wander-lust is greatest in man. A track once formed continues to be trodden by him ever afterwards unless by natural causes, climatic changes or upheavals of the earth's crust obliterate them.

—*The Sunday Standard*, Jan. 13, 1963.

News and Notes

We publish below an account given by our Mr. Heinz Tittlebach, a German Scholar, of his stay in Tamil Nad.

—My First Tamil Studies

MY FIRST TAMIL STUDIES

Having come out to Madras for Tamil studies mainly I was very happy to meet so eminent a scholar and writer as the late Professor Sethu Pillai was. It is deplorable that my stay, then, could not be extended.

On the first day of our acquaintance Professor Sethu Pillai told me some details on the spirit of the Tamil language. He pointed out that Tamil in spite of being a rather old language has conserved its vitality even now-a-days. As he put it very convincingly, " Tamil is both old and young. Tamil classical literature has been originating in times unthinkable. If you study Tirukkural you will experience the greatness of Tamil culture. If you read modern Tamil stories or if you talk to people in the street you will find that Tamil has been kept alive. Sanskrit has not. Tamil will never die."

Professor Sethu Pillai went on, " Do not waste too much time in studying grammar books. Listen to people in the street! Pick up what they talk! After sometimes you may let me know whether you were succeeding." I tried to pick up as much as I could by means of children's books, Tamil daily papers, modern short stories, by talking to people in the street, by attending Tamil performances, and by contacting Tamil munshis. To improve my prose style in Tamil I wrote short stories depicting scenes from everyday's life. Here some titles are given :

1. Annanum tampiyum
2. En mōṭṭār caikkil
3. Rikṣā karan
4. Narrations of Tamil films.

I found it very interesting to attend Tamil film performances. I do not want to judge the quality of the films I attended. No matter whether they were good or bad —all of them offered to me an opportunity, to increase the working knowledge of my Tamil. Apart from that, as I see it, I got a sociological outline of the Tamil country and its people. Maybe the pictures the films gave were not always correct. However, when travelling, I often found that scenes from Tamil films were occurring even in everyday's life. I learnt that Tamil films were an offspring from the Tamil street dramas which are said to have been flourishing in the City fifty years ago. One day I attended a Tamil drama performance in a big hall. As far as I remember it was an adoptation from a Shakespeare tragedy. The language was rather highbrow Tamil. As I am very much interested in classical South Indian music I was very glad that I was invited to attend a concert. I will never forget the impression the nadasvaram, and the vina made upon me. Some days later I went to a Bharata Natyam performance. I watched the outstanding dancer Minati Das. Listening to the musical accompaniment I was deeply touched by the way how the instruments were being played and how artistically the singers were reciting the Tamil texts.

Apart from my Tamil studies in the City I saw a lot of places of interest in South India, such as Mahabalipuram, Kancheepuram, Mathurai, Tirunelveli, Trivandrum, Cape comorin and Tirupathi.

It was very interesting for me to learn that Tamil is well understood in Trivandrum and that Malayalam is very cognate to Tamil.

The period of my stay ended so soon that I could not complete my Tamil studies by taking a degree, as Professor Sethu Pillai advised me to do.

SANDWICHED TAMIL

I think it is sufficient introduction when I say that I am a Tamil; that fact also explains why I write to you in English. It is not just an anomaly but a tragedy that any one member of our community should write to another in a foreign language—that too, a former rulers' language. Apart from the fact that we have been one of the most servile, subservient, slavish people in the world, we too suffer from the endemic malady of discarding every worthwhile heritage, even to go so far as to denigrate our people for a mess of pottage. I too am a Tamil worthy of the name. I spent the formative years of my life labouring over our ex-masters' language, having been weaned from Tamil at an early age (though not as early as in the case of many others due to the fact that my father was not acquainted with that prestige—symbol of half-kultier) I was (alas! in the past tense) quite proficient—at least for my age and the milien—in my language when the regettable course of bottle feeding was forced on me for financial reasons—yes, we are all mercenaries! and I have never been able to get back to my first love.

Here, in London, I have on every occasion tried to carry on a conversation with a fellow Tamil in the medium of—what I would consider to be the automatic and spontaneous choice Tamil, but on every such occasion at once I became aware that the conversation had deteriorated into one in an ugly, unaesthetic and monstrous ling—a species of pidgin Tamil (or English) in which both languages are horribly raped and mangled. I give as an example how a friend tried to convey a certain idea to me—"Clapham Common இலே breeze நல்ல cooling ஆய்விருக்கு no"—(the last word is a "Ceylonism" for "Is it not?") I leave it to you to comprehend what he meant by the above. I do not want to give you the impression of adopting a "holier than thou" attitude towards my 'co-linguists'; I am myself prone to

commit this "besetting sin" as much as any other Tamil in London, but I only want to express my concern about what I consider to be a very dangerous situation. Here lies a fertile ground for yet another "language," as in the case of Malayalam and Telugu, with all the fissile and divisive consequences that it implies. Instead of encouraging such a tendency I, therefore, talk to my "muddled lingual" friends in English. One of the reasons for my writing this letter to you is to spotlight this scandal and try to focus your attention to this matter. If anybody can do anything about it, that would be you.

There is yet another matter I wish to suggest to you. As I have profound admiration for your service to Tamil language through the journal "Tamil Culture" and by your unflagging efforts in various other directions what I shall be saying presently is not intended to detract from the credit that you amply deserve. It is surely a worthy endevour to proclaim the glorious past of our language to foreigners, but there is the other complementary task—indeed the more urgent one—of giving the Tamils the best in other languages. As expressed by the Great Goethe, we study other languages so as to enrich ours. By translating the immortal works in other languages not only do we bring in new information, thereby adding a new dimension to our language but also entirely novel concepts that never existed in Tamil these enlarging immensely our conceptual field. These concepts when rendered in Tamil world obviously, add to our vocabulary as well; words give rise to new thoughts; thoughts give rise to new words.

Here again we can look up to men like you only. It had been my idle vision for a long time, to form a publishing company through which to publish the best works in all the languages in the world and at some future time to employ computors to translate scientific journals from Russian,

English, French, German etc., speedily into Tamil. Obiviously it is too quixotic a dream even if you do not take into consideration the fact that I am the poorest Ceylonese student in London. This, I think is a job for large institution or for spirited and capable men like you.

(Sd.) K. SANMUGASUNDARAM

London, S. W. 11.